

STAHL

Governor Francis Nicholson

History

A.M.

1911

UNIV. OF
ILLINOIS
LIBRARY

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
LIBRARY

Class

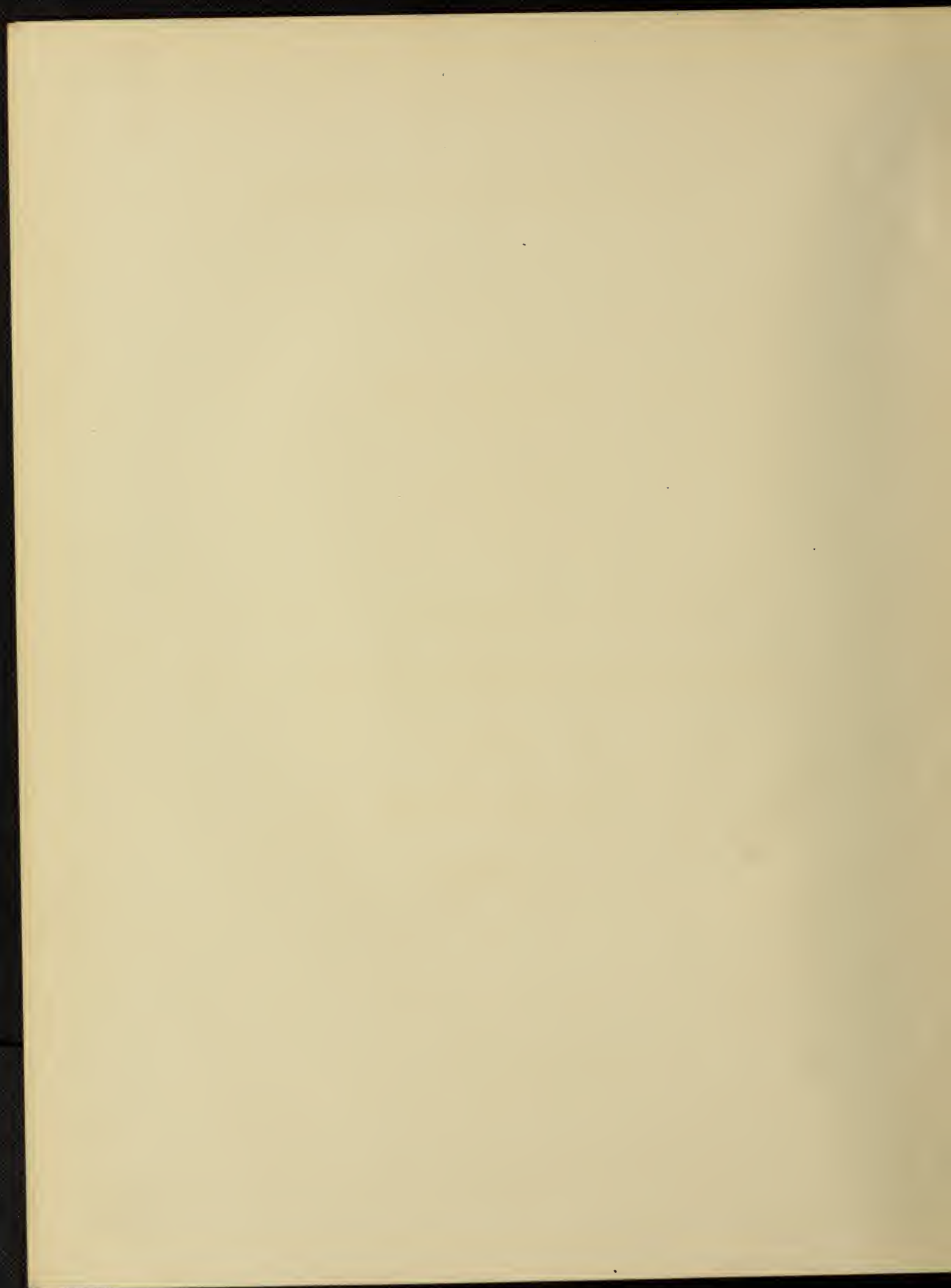
1911

Book

St1

Volume





GOVERNOR FRANCIS NICHOLSON

938
96
21.5

BY

ELMER ROY STAHL

A. B. UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS, 1910

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

IN HISTORY

IN

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

1911

1911
St 1

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

May 29 1911.

I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY SUPERVISION BY

Elmer R. Stahl

ENTITLED *Governor Francis Nicholson*

BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING THIS PART OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE

DEGREE OF

*Master of Arts in History,
Evarts B. Greene
Evarts B. Greene*

In Charge of Major Work

Head of Department

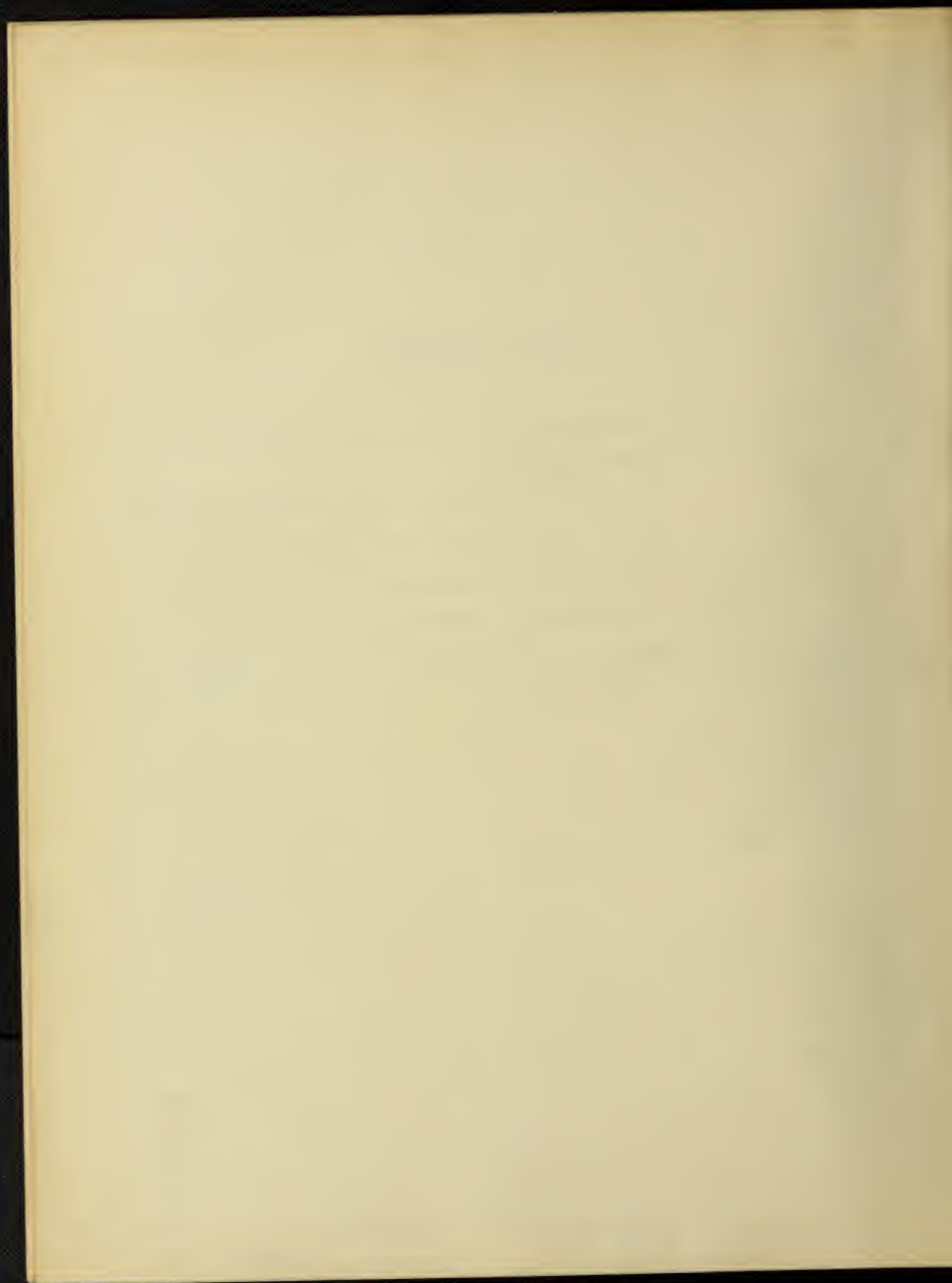
Recommendation concurred in:

Committee

on

Final Examination

197742



I

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Introduction.

I-Early Career.

II-Nicholson and the New York Revolution of 1689.

III-Nicholson in Virginia, 1691-1692.

IV-Nicholson in Maryland, 1694-1698.

V-Nicholson in Virginia, 1698-1705.

VI-Nicholson and Blair.

Conclusion.

CHAPTER 10

The first chapter of this book is devoted to a discussion of the various methods of determining the age of a person. The methods discussed are based on the study of the teeth, the bones, and the hair. The teeth are the most reliable indicator of age, and the bones are the next most reliable. The hair is the least reliable, but it can be used to determine the age of a person if the other methods are not available.

-----INTRODUCTION-----

The activities of Francis Nicholson were many and varied. He served the Crown in New England, New York, Virginia, Maryland, Canada and South Carolina. In this paper, I shall attempt to trace his career and work thru his second administration in Virginia.

When we study Nicholson we are indeed confronted by a character difficult to understand. Contemporary accounts represent him either as an angel of righteousness or as a tyrannical, blasphemous, drunken sot. Everyone's nature is part good and part bad. In Nicholson, the good and the bad traits were emphasized. Sometimes he was the courteous, solicitous, enlightened, far-seeing governor; sometimes he acted like a madman. In some colonies, he won the good will of the people and accomplished much; in others, his wild actions caused indignant protests and led to his departure or recall.

CHAPTER I

EARLY CAREER

Francis Nicholson, the subject of this sketch, first saw the¹ light in the year 1660. Not much is known of his early life. June 9th, 1678, he obtained a commission in the army as an ensign and on May 6, 1684, he became lieutenant.

In February, 1685, James, Duke of York, a confessed Catholic, became James II, king of England. Nicholson was a member of the Established Church but it seemed that he did not at that time take religion very seriously, for he did not hesitate to kneel when mass was said in the king's camp at Hounslow Heath.² In doing this, the young man was probably working for his own advancement. In this he was not to be disappointed. But news of the respect shown by him for the Popish religion reached the New World and helped to cause many to distrust him.

James had not been king long before he began to show those despotic qualities which had been so disastrous to his father. He soon exhibited an arbitrary policy toward the English colonies in America. On June 3rd, 1686, Sir Edmund Andros was made governor of "The Territory of New England in America." Freedom of religion was granted, but the various assemblies ceased to exist. Andros was authorized with the consent of his council (appointed by the Crown) to make laws and levy³ taxes. As it was feared that Andros might have some difficulty in executing his commission, two companies of Irish troops were sent over⁴ with him. Captain Francis Nicholson commanded one of these.

-----:-----
1- Dictionary of Nat'l. Biography, XLI, 12.

2- Broadhead, Hist. of N.Y., II, 558.

3- R.I. Col. Rec., III, 213; Broadhead, Hist. of N.Y., II, 451.

4- Ibid.

Nicholson was also one of the members of Andros' council.¹

1- Randolph, Letters and Papers, IV, passim.

CHAPTER II

NICHOLSON AND THE NEW YORK REVOLUTION OF 1689.

Having succeeded in making the New England colonies dependent on the Crown, King James determined to carry out the process of fusion. So March 3rd, 1688, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York and East and West Jersey were added to New England and Andros was made governor-general of the whole.¹ The commission issued was similar to that of June 3rd, 1686. Forty-two councillors- seven of whom were to constitute a quorum- were to assist Andros in making laws and levying taxes.² Nicholson was a member of this council.³ Such a vast territory made the appointment of an assistant expedient. So Nicholson was made lieutenant-governor.⁴

When Andros started for New York(July 31st.), Nicholson accompanied him going as far as New London. Then, having heard of Indian troubles near Springfield,⁵ he returned to Boston. On October 9th, Andros, having heard of Indian troubles in Maine, started for Boston, leaving Nicholson in charge in New York.⁶

Shortly after this an event occurred in England which was destined to bring about revolutions in most of the English colonies in America. William of Orange, at the request of some important English personages invaded England to overthrow the Popish and despotic James and to restore the liberties of the English people. The invasion was successful, and, February 13th, 1689, William and Mary were

- 1- Colonial Laws of N.Y., I, 216.
- 2- Ibid, 21y. N.Y. Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist., III, 543.
- 3- Randolph, Letters and Papers, IV, passim.
- 4- W.&M College Quarterly, XVI, 10, note.
- 5- N.Y. Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist., III, 550.
- 6- Ibid, III, 568-569; Broadhead, Hist. of N.Y., II, 521.

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

The history of the United States is a story of the growth of a nation from a collection of small, isolated colonies to a great, unified power. The story begins with the first settlers, who came to the New World in search of a better life. They found a land of vast resources and a people who were different from them. The settlers and the natives lived together for many years, but the relationship was not always peaceful. The settlers wanted to expand their territory and control the land. The natives wanted to protect their land and their way of life. The conflict between the two groups led to a series of wars, the most famous of which was the American Revolution. The revolution was a struggle for independence from British rule. The colonists fought for the right to self-government and for the right to be treated as equal citizens. The revolution was successful, and the United States became an independent nation. The story of the United States is a story of the struggle for freedom and the pursuit of the American dream.

The United States has a long and rich history. It is a nation of immigrants, and its people have come from many different parts of the world. The United States has a diverse population, and its people speak many different languages. The United States has a long history of freedom and democracy. It is a nation that values the rights of its citizens and that is committed to the principles of justice and equality. The United States has a long history of innovation and progress. It is a nation that has led the world in many important fields, including science, technology, and the arts. The United States is a nation of hope and possibility. It is a nation that believes in the power of the individual and in the power of the people. The United States is a nation that is proud of its history and that is committed to its future.

The United States is a nation of many faces. It is a nation of many cultures, many languages, and many traditions. The United States is a nation of many dreams and many hopes. The United States is a nation of many challenges and many opportunities. The United States is a nation of many stories and many legends. The United States is a nation of many heroes and many villains. The United States is a nation of many friends and many enemies. The United States is a nation of many loves and many hates. The United States is a nation of many joys and many sorrows. The United States is a nation of many tears and many smiles. The United States is a nation of many lives and many deaths. The United States is a nation of many beginnings and many endings. The United States is a nation of many futures and many pasts. The United States is a nation of many possibilities and many realities. The United States is a nation of many dreams and many hopes. The United States is a nation of many challenges and many opportunities. The United States is a nation of many stories and many legends. The United States is a nation of many heroes and many villains. The United States is a nation of many friends and many enemies. The United States is a nation of many loves and many hates. The United States is a nation of many joys and many sorrows. The United States is a nation of many tears and many smiles. The United States is a nation of many lives and many deaths. The United States is a nation of many beginnings and many endings. The United States is a nation of many futures and many pasts. The United States is a nation of many possibilities and many realities.

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES
 BY
 JOHN P. FLETCHER
 NEW YORK
 1900

1

proclaimed king and queen.

The news that William and Mary had been elevated to the English throne did not reach Boston until May 21 st. The people of Boston, however, restless under a government which was so much different from that to which they had been accustomed, rose in rebellion April 18th, seized and cast into prison Andros, Randolph, and other officials, and set up a government of their own. The news of the happenings at Boston reached New York the 26th.²

In order to understand and appreciate fully the part Nicholson took in the New York Revolution of 1689, some knowledge of the status of public feeling in the province at the time that the Boston declaration reached the city is essential. There was much dissatisfaction. This was due to a number of causes. I shall mention the most important.

The chief of these was the desire for a representative, law-making and tax granting assembly. For four years, the New Yorkers had possessed such a body. But this assembly had been dissolved by order of King James, January 20th, 1787.³ Having once tasted of the fruit of the tree of liberty, the New York people were naturally anxious that the representative body be restored.

4

A second cause of discontent was the union with New England. The people of New York were of a totally different character from those of New England. They wished to retain their nationality.

The fear of French and Indian attacks, which was increased by the state of the militia and the fortifications, constituted a

----:----

1- Andros Tracts, II, XVI.

2- N.Y. Hist. Soc. Collections, I, 244.

3- Broadhead, Hist. of N.Y., II, 458.

4- Ibid, 513.

The first thing I noticed when I stepped out of the car was the cold, crisp air. It felt like a blanket, wrapping around me. The sun was just rising, painting the sky in shades of orange and pink. The city was still in its early morning slumber, with only a few cars visible on the streets. I took a deep breath, savoring the fresh air. The world felt so new, so full of possibility. I knew this was my chance to start over, to create a life for myself. The future was uncertain, but that was the beauty of it. I was ready for whatever came my way.

As I walked down the street, I noticed the familiar faces of my friends and family. They were all looking at me with expressions of surprise and joy. I felt a sense of belonging, a sense of home. I knew this was where I belonged, where I belonged. I had found my place in the world, and I was grateful for it. The future was uncertain, but that was the beauty of it. I was ready for whatever came my way.

The world of today was a different world. It was a world of change and growth. I had seen the world from a different perspective, and I was grateful for it. The future was uncertain, but that was the beauty of it. I was ready for whatever came my way.

I had found my place in the world, and I was grateful for it. The future was uncertain, but that was the beauty of it. I was ready for whatever came my way.

1. The first thing I noticed when I stepped out of the car was the cold, crisp air. It felt like a blanket, wrapping around me. The sun was just rising, painting the sky in shades of orange and pink. The city was still in its early morning slumber, with only a few cars visible on the streets. I took a deep breath, savoring the fresh air. The world felt so new, so full of possibility. I knew this was my chance to start over, to create a life for myself. The future was uncertain, but that was the beauty of it. I was ready for whatever came my way.

third cause. Still another was found in the opposition to and the¹ fear of Catholicism. Numerous rumors of plots later stimulated this.

To all these was added a personal element- the ill-feeling between a German merchant named Leisler and two wealthy and prominent² members of the council- Bayard and VanCortlandt. Leisler had risen from the position of a mercenary pirate to that of a prosperous merchant. He was connected by marriage with Bayard and VanCortlandt. These gentlemen had not, however, helped him to rise in the social circle and he had become involved in lawsuits with them. Consequently he hated them.

Leisler was ignorant, coarse, and vulgar. He was stubborn and vindictive. His prejudices were ungovernable. He was very much opposed to Popery. To gain his ends he often resorted to low cunning. He possessed many of the qualities of a successful demagogue. The failure of Nicholson and his councilors to properly estimate Leisler's feeling and influence had an important effect on the Revolution.

The foregoing is sufficient to show that the task that confronted Nicholson was a difficult one. It would have taxed the skill of a successful official who had had years of experience. Nicholson was only twenty-eight years old. What training had he had? He had been and was still, a member of Andros' council. He had attended the council³ meetings with great regularity. There and thru his association with Andros he had probably imbibed some of Andros' ideas about government. These could only have made his path more difficult. He had also⁴ been somewhat intimate with Randolph. It is likely that this acquaint-

-----:-----
1- N.Y. Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist., III 577: Documentary History of N.Y., II, 10.

2- Broadhead, Hist. of N. Y., II, 564.

3- Randolph, Letters and Papers, IV, et passim.

4- Ibid, passim.

ance also had its influence.

The difficulty of Nicholson's position was increased by the fact that the number of the members of the council who assisted him was so small. Only three (besides Nicholson) were present at the council meetings. One of these (Frederick Phillipse) was very wealthy, but one of the dullest men in New York. The other two were able men. Stephen VanCortlandt, who was also the mayor of the city, was a loyal conservative. The third councillor, Nicholas Bayard, was an opulent man. He had had long official experience and was then colonel of the city regiment of train bands.¹

The news of the revolutions in England and Massachussets² caused the slumbering discontent in New York to awaken and blaze forth.³ Signs of revolt were not long in showing themselves. Suffolk County, on the eastern end of Long Island was the first to revolt. All magistrates and military officers were put out by the people and others chosen by them. This took place early in May. Queens and Winchester counties soon did the same. Some of the towns of Suffolk county sent a delegation to the city (May 10th) to demand that the fort be delivered up to the persons appointed by the country.⁴ The effect of reports concerning projected French invasion and the attitude of the Indians⁵ was intensified by distrust of Nicholson and his councillors. Finally, on May 30th, a quarrel over the placing of a sentry at a certain point in the fort took place between an officer of the city militia and a corporal of the regular troops. Nicholson lost his temper and uttered some unwise words which were circulated among the people. Leisler and

1- Broadhead, Hist. of N. Y., II, 558.

2- Documentary Hist. of N. Y. II, 10; N. Y., Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist., III, 577. 3- Ibid, 575.

4- N.Y.Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist., III, 577.

5- Ibid, 577, 584. Documentary Hist. of N.Y., II, 10.

The American Medical Association is a national organization of physicians and surgeons, organized for the purpose of promoting the interests of the medical profession and the public health. It was founded in 1846 and has since that time grown to become one of the largest and most influential organizations in the United States. Its members are physicians and surgeons of all branches of medicine, and its headquarters are located in Chicago, Illinois. The Association is organized into various departments and committees, each of which is responsible for a specific aspect of the medical profession. These include the Department of Internal Medicine, the Department of Surgery, the Department of Obstetrics and Gynecology, the Department of Pediatrics, the Department of Ophthalmology, the Department of Otorhinolaryngology, the Department of Dermatology and Syphilology, the Department of Radiology, the Department of Pathology, the Department of Bacteriology, the Department of Pharmacology, the Department of Therapeutics, the Department of Hygiene and Preventive Medicine, the Department of Public Health, the Department of Legal Medicine, the Department of Forensic Medicine, the Department of Medical Jurisprudence, the Department of Medical Ethics, the Department of Medical Education, the Department of Medical Research, the Department of Medical Statistics, the Department of Medical Literature, the Department of Medical Art, the Department of Medical Music, the Department of Medical Drama, the Department of Medical Poetry, the Department of Medical Prose, the Department of Medical Verse, the Department of Medical Fiction, the Department of Medical Non-Fiction, the Department of Medical Biography, the Department of Medical History, the Department of Medical Geography, the Department of Medical Chronology, the Department of Medical Cosmology, the Department of Medical Meteorology, the Department of Medical Geology, the Department of Medical Botany, the Department of Medical Zoology, the Department of Medical Mineralogy, the Department of Medical Metallurgy, the Department of Medical Chemistry, the Department of Medical Physics, the Department of Medical Mathematics, the Department of Medical Logic, the Department of Medical Metaphysics, the Department of Medical Epistemology, the Department of Medical Aesthetics, the Department of Medical Morality, the Department of Medical Law, the Department of Medical Economics, the Department of Medical Sociology, the Department of Medical Anthropology, the Department of Medical Linguistics, the Department of Medical Semantics, the Department of Medical Pragmatics, the Department of Medical Poetics, the Department of Medical Rhetoric, the Department of Medical Grammar, the Department of Medical Syntax, the Department of Medical Semantics, the Department of Medical Phonetics, the Department of Medical Morphology, the Department of Medical Etymology, the Department of Medical Orthography, the Department of Medical Punctuation, the Department of Medical Capitalization, the Department of Medical Spelling, the Department of Medical Grammar, the Department of Medical Syntax, the Department of Medical Semantics, the Department of Medical Phonetics, the Department of Medical Morphology, the Department of Medical Etymology, the Department of Medical Orthography, the Department of Medical Punctuation, the Department of Medical Capitalization, the Department of Medical Spelling.

The American Medical Association is a national organization of physicians and surgeons, organized for the purpose of promoting the interests of the medical profession and the public health. It was founded in 1846 and has since that time grown to become one of the largest and most influential organizations in the United States. Its members are physicians and surgeons of all branches of medicine, and its headquarters are located in Chicago, Illinois. The Association is organized into various departments and committees, each of which is responsible for a specific aspect of the medical profession. These include the Department of Internal Medicine, the Department of Surgery, the Department of Obstetrics and Gynecology, the Department of Pediatrics, the Department of Ophthalmology, the Department of Otorhinolaryngology, the Department of Dermatology and Syphilology, the Department of Radiology, the Department of Pathology, the Department of Bacteriology, the Department of Pharmacology, the Department of Therapeutics, the Department of Hygiene and Preventive Medicine, the Department of Public Health, the Department of Legal Medicine, the Department of Forensic Medicine, the Department of Medical Jurisprudence, the Department of Medical Ethics, the Department of Medical Education, the Department of Medical Research, the Department of Medical Statistics, the Department of Medical Literature, the Department of Medical Art, the Department of Medical Music, the Department of Medical Drama, the Department of Medical Poetry, the Department of Medical Prose, the Department of Medical Verse, the Department of Medical Fiction, the Department of Medical Non-Fiction, the Department of Medical Biography, the Department of Medical History, the Department of Medical Geography, the Department of Medical Chronology, the Department of Medical Cosmology, the Department of Medical Meteorology, the Department of Medical Geology, the Department of Medical Botany, the Department of Medical Zoology, the Department of Medical Mineralogy, the Department of Medical Metallurgy, the Department of Medical Chemistry, the Department of Medical Physics, the Department of Medical Mathematics, the Department of Medical Logic, the Department of Medical Metaphysics, the Department of Medical Epistemology, the Department of Medical Aesthetics, the Department of Medical Morality, the Department of Medical Law, the Department of Medical Economics, the Department of Medical Sociology, the Department of Medical Anthropology, the Department of Medical Linguistics, the Department of Medical Semantics, the Department of Medical Pragmatics, the Department of Medical Poetics, the Department of Medical Rhetoric, the Department of Medical Grammar, the Department of Medical Syntax, the Department of Medical Semantics, the Department of Medical Phonetics, the Department of Medical Morphology, the Department of Medical Etymology, the Department of Medical Orthography, the Department of Medical Punctuation, the Department of Medical Capitalization, the Department of Medical Spelling.

Published by the American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill. 60610.
Subscription price, \$5.00 per annum in advance.
Single copies, 15 cents.
Entered as Second-Class Matter, May 2, 1911, Post Office at Chicago, Ill., under No. 383,991.
Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on July 1, 1918.
Postage paid at Chicago, Ill., and at additional mailing offices.
Copyright, 1919, by American Medical Association.
Printed at the Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill.

the militia obtained possession of the fort, and the government of King James in New York was at an end.

I shall now examine Nicholson's actions up to May 30th, in-so-far as they are related to the revolution.

Before the dissolution of their assembly, the people of New York were, as a whole, very well satisfied with King James. That act, however, and the subsequent union with New England had brought about a feeling of opposition to him.² Many acts of Nicholson seemed to show his approval of and sympathy with James' administration. In August, 1688, the news that King James was the happy father of a son reached Boston. Nicholson had forwarded the joyful news to Andros at New York, had celebrated it as best he could, and had issued a proclamation for a general thanksgiving.³ The New York people wanted Mary to succeed James.⁴ March 1st, 1689, Nicholson had received authentic news of William's invasion from Captain John Blackwell, Governor of Pennsylvania.⁵ He immediately forwarded the news to Andros by two expresses,⁶ but gave strict orders that it should not be divulged in New York.⁷ A few days later, information concerning the invasion reached Leisler and then, of course, spread.⁸ Later still, the fact that Nicholson would not proclaim William and Mary without direct orders to do so, also led the people to think that he was an ally of James. The acts of Nicholson enumerated above, and others of a similar nature, helped to bring about his unpopularity.

Although the Protestantism of the New Yorkers was not

-----::-----

- 1- N.Y. Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist., III, 594.
- 2- Ibid, III, 577. Documentary Hist. of N.Y., II, 10. Broadhead, Hist. of N.Y., II, 458.
- 3- N.Y. Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist., III, 554.
- 4- Broadhead, Hist. of N.Y., II, 526.
- 5- N.Y. Hist. Soc. Collections, I, 241; N.Y. Doc. Rel. to Col. Hist., III, 591.
- 6- Ibid, 242, 7- Ibid, III, 591.
- 8- Osgood, Am. Colonies in 17th. Cent., III, 449.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

CHICAGO, ILL. 60607

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

CHICAGO, ILL. 60607

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

CHICAGO, ILL. 60607

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

CHICAGO, ILL. 60607

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

CHICAGO, ILL. 60607

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

CHICAGO, ILL. 60607

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

CHICAGO, ILL. 60607

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

CHICAGO, ILL. 60607

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

CHICAGO, ILL. 60607

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

CHICAGO, ILL. 60607

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

CHICAGO, ILL. 60607

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

CHICAGO, ILL. 60607

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

CHICAGO, ILL. 60607

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

CHICAGO, ILL. 60607

nearly as radical as that of the New Englanders, still there was present in the colony a widespread feeling against the presence and spread of Catholicism. This feeling would doubtless have remained dormant if the revolutions in New England had not called it forth. The English revolution against Popery, the successful uprisings in Massachusetts and the other neighboring colonies, the circulation of reports concerning Catholic plots and multitudes of roving Catholics, and the seemingly Catholic tendencies of the governor and his councillors caused the feeling against Popery to burst into a flame.¹ The fear that the lives and properties of the Protestants were not safe, added fuel to the flames.²

Nicholson had undoubtedly given the people some grounds for suspecting and opposing his religious attitude. I have mentioned his kneeling while mass was said in the king's camp at Hounslow Heath and now he had joyfully celebrated the birth of King James' son. But these were not the only occasions upon which he seemingly showed a Catholic tendency. The deposition of a New York workingmen informs us that on the accession of Andros some were very glad to be delivered from a Papist governor and to have a deputy who would establish and defend the true religion. They thought all the images in the fort would be removed. Nicholson, however, disappointed them by having workingmen assist the priest (who had been kept there by Dongan) to remove them to a better room in the fort and to arrange things as he wished.³ The deposition further states that this gave great offence to the Protestants.⁴

The declarations of the dissatisfied people bitterly complain that Nicholson violated the Test Act by appointing and retaining Catholic

-----:-----

1- N.Y. Docs. Rel.to Col. Hist. III, 577,583,584.
Documentary Hist. of N.Y. II, 10.

2- Ibid, III, 584, 615 and Doc. Hist.N.Y. II, 4, 10.

3- Broadhead, Hist. of N.Y. II, 521. 4- Ibid, 522.

¹ officers. Matthew Plowman, the collector of the custom house, and other custom house officials were Catholics. There were also Catholic soldiers in the fort. Although urged by the Protestants to remove Catholics from office, Nicholson did not heed the warning.² Under such circumstances, it is not strange that the revolting party claimed that he was only a pretended Protestant.³ Nicholson's attitude toward religion was probably dictated by his desire to please King James. However that may be, it gave rise to dissatisfaction and to numerous rumors implicating him in plots the object of which was to infringe on the liberties, properties, and lives of the Protestants, and greatly strengthened the cause of the revolutionists.⁴

The revolution in England made war between England and France certain. The treaty between these nations provided that the colonies should not be disturbed in case of war.⁵ The New York people, however, were not to be deceived. They thought that, in case of war, the French would rally their Indian allies and attack the colonies. In that case, New York, being on the frontier was sure to feel the first blow. The supposition of the New Yorkers was correct. Louis did plan to attack New York by land and sea and sent Frontenac to Quebec to direct operations.⁶

Although the New York people had not heard of the design of the French king, they were seized with fear.⁷ Upon Nicholson devolved the task of putting the province into a state of defense and of quieting the people. VanCortlandt gives him credit for having sent word to all the counties the preceding winter to exercise the militia and to have them equipped and ready.⁸ He does not tell whether this order was

1- Documentary Hist. of N.Y., II, 10. N.Y. Doc. Rel. to Col. Hist., III, 583, 584. 2- Ibid, 584. 3- Ibid, 584.

4- Ibid, 577, 615, Documentary Hist. of N.Y., II, 10.

5- Broadhead, Hist. of N.Y., II, 547.

6- N.Y. Doc. Rel. to Col. Hist., IX, 404-408, 419.

7- Ibid.

8- N.Y. Doc. Rel. to Col. Hist., III, 591.

carried out. Nicholson seems to have culpably neglected the safety of the capital up to the first of May when affairs in New York began to take on a serious aspect. The preceding winter, Andros had ordered him¹ to see that the fort overlooking the harbor was repaired, but up to the time that the news of the revolution in Boston reached New York² little had been done.

When the news of the Boston revolution reached New York, Nicholson and the other three members of the council resolved, because of the smallness of their number, to call in the mayor, aldermen, and the common council to advise with them concerning the quieting of the province and the security of the government.³ Letters were also sent to the other members of the council requesting them to come to the aid of the few present, but they did not appear.⁴ On the 27th. of April, rumors of war between France and England permeated the air and led to the calling in of the chief military officers to form a part of the joint council.⁵ On May 2d, this arrangement was simplified -it being provided that two aldermen, two councilmen and four military officers should meet with the council. Later (May 11th) the several counties were each invited to send to the city two or three men to become members of the joint council.⁶ This should have helped to allay the jealousies and distrust. The counties, however, did not send delegates.

On April 27th, the council informed the governor that on account of the few soldiers in the fort, the captains of the militia would demand that some of their own soldiers be allowed to help guard

----::----

1- N.Y. Doc. Rel. to Col. Hist., III, 590, 591.

2- Ibid, III, 575; N.Y. Hist. Soc. Collections, I, 273,

3- Ibid, 244. 4- Ibid, 248.

278

5- N.Y. Hist. Soc. Collections, I, 245.

6- Ibid, 280.

it. Acting on its advice, the governor at once proposed to the cap-¹tains that the soldiers help in the fort. So the militia was admitted² to the fort. This had an important sequel.

Some of those who opposed Nicholson claimed that he neglected the fortifications of the city with criminal intent and that, there-³fore, the seizure of the fort was justifiable. The facts do not appear to bear this out. May 6th, on the recommendation of Nicholson, an order that the revenue be employed for fortifying the city passed the board although Leisler and a number of others would not subscribe to⁴ it. On May 8th, the people began work on the fortifications in whole⁵ companies. The work was allotted in shares to the different companies of militia and earnest effort was put forth.

Nicholson's efforts were not confined to repairing the fortifications. Letters were sent to the justices and the chief military officers in the counties asking them to use their efforts to keep the peace and to be ready to assist the city and fort with all their forces. Many of them appeared before the council and promised to do⁶ as requested.

The attitude of the Five Nations was uncertain and caused the people much alarm. From Albany came many rumors. On May 12th, Nicholson⁷ received a letter from the mayor of Albany. The mayor stated that the Five Nations had been aroused by reports that Andros had agreed with those of Canada, to destroy them. Nicholson's reply contained very good advice. He told the mayor to tell the Indians that the report concerning Andros had been proved to be false, to assure them of the lasting friendship of the English and of the fact that they were soon to fight the French, to dissuade any of them from going to

1- N.Y. Hist. Soc. Collections, I, 245. 2- Ibid, 273.

3- N.Y. Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist., III, 589, 614.

4- N.Y. Hist. Soc. Collections, I, 278. 5- Ibid, 253.

6- Cal. of State Pap., Col., 1689-1692, p. 583.

7- N.Y. Hist. Soc. Collections, I, 246-248. 8- Ibid, 256.

Canada, and to remove suspicions by presenting each nation with a barrel of gunpowder.

The young governor recognized that the New York people had serious grievances. In his opinion, some of these were occasioned by the union with New England. When Andros left New York, he had taken all the government record books to Boston. There were many complaints¹ about this. As early as November 15th, 1688, Nicholson wrote to Randolph² deploring the absence of these books. On May 1st, he wrote a letter of³ condolence to Andros. In this letter he said that the removal of the records to Boston had caused a great deal of trouble. He asked that they be returned in order to quiet the peoples' minds.⁴ In a letter which he wrote to the Board of Trade and Plantations May 15th, he pointed out the harm done by the union. He stated that the imprisonment at Boston of the judges appointed for the circuit caused much suffering among the people.

Nicholson's quick and fiery temper, his lack of experience in dealing with men, and his failure to appreciate fully the situation in New York precipitated the crisis there. On the night of May 30th, Lieutenant Cuyler of the city train bands, acting under orders of his captain, DePeyser, attempted to place a sentinel at the sally port, but the sergeant of the fort would not allow it without Nicholson's orders. Nicholson sent for Cuyler, who came bringing with him, his corporal. The lieutenant-governor then angrily reprimanded Cuyler, threatened to shoot his corporal, and (according to Cuyler's deposition which was supported by his corporal and a passer-by) threatened to set the town on fire.

---:---

- 1- Documentary Hist. of N.Y., II, 4.
- 2- Randolph, Letters and Papers, IV, 253.
- 3- N.Y. Hist. Soc. Collections, I, 250-251.
- 4- N.Y. Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist., III, 576.
- 5- N.Y. Hist. Soc. Collections, I, 292;
Cal. of State Pap., 1689-1692, p. 65. (Colonial)

The next day there were high words at the meeting of the joint council. Nicholson¹ denied having threatened to set the city on fire and dismissed Cuyler. DePeyser was offended and left the room. Leisler rallied the train bands. A deputation was sent to Nicholson to demand the keys of the fort. The governor asked the advice of the board. They advised him that, in order to quiet the minds of the people and to prevent further mischief, he should give up the keys. This he did. He then asked them what means, if any, should be used to reduce the people to submission. They advised him to leave them alone for some time. Nicholson, indeed, seemed helpless at this crisis. He never returned to the fort.

Thus Leisler and his party came into control. On June 6th, Nicholson, acting on the advice of his council, decided to go to England "to give an account of the deplorable state of the province and to pray for immediate relief."² On June 10th, he gave his parting advice to the council, desiring them to continue to assist Sir Edmund Andros and to send frequent accounts of the happenings to the Secretary³ of State and to the Secretary of Plantations office. He did not sail 'till the 24th.

Much might be said concerning the wisdom or folly of Nicholson's conduct during the revolution. For a time at least he did not appreciate the gravity of the situation.⁴ During the course of the revolution, he made a number of mistakes which showed a lack of judgment. He did not seem to understand Leisler or the faction with which he was connected and which brought the revolution to completion. If Nicholson had dismissed the Catholic officials when warned to do so, if he had not waited for orders to proclaim William and Mary, if he had not lost his temper at critical times, the revolution would probably have taken

-----::-----

1- Cal. of State Pap., Col., 1689-1692, pp. 593, 594.

2- N.Y. Hist. Soc. Collections, I, 270 3- Ibid, 271

4- Ibid, I, 250, 251, 254.

a different course. Plowman, the collector of customs, asserted that if Nicholson had taken advice and sent for men at the Albany fort, the uprising would have been prevented.¹ This seems probable as a great many were either indifferent to or opposed to Leisler. On June 3d, a copy of the London Gazette containing the king's proclamation retaining Protestants in England in office, reached New York.² Nicholson might then have proclaimed William and Mary and possibly have nipped the uprising in the bud. It seems that he should have tried this.

Nicholson's work in New York showed that he was not at that time fitted for the office of governor. During the course of the revolution, many critical questions presented themselves for solution. On such occasions, he was often at sea. He frequently proposed these questions to the rest of the council and took their advice whether it was good or bad. He would not proclaim William and Mary without specific orders.³

But we must bear in mind that Nicholson was young and inexperienced and that the task which confronted him was very difficult. He had much to learn. It was necessary that he learn to control his temper, to think out problems in all their bearings, and to rely on himself.

1- N.Y. Hist. Soc. Collections, I, 250, 251, 254.

2- Osgood, Am. Colonies in the 17th. Cent., III, 456.

3- N.Y. Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist., III, 601.

CHAPTER III.

NICHOLSON IN VIRGINIA: 1691-1692.

After having examined Nicholson's career in New York, we view with some surprise, his appointment to the active governorship of Virginia- the most populous of his Majesty's colonies in America. Some of his contemporaries claim that he secured this appointment by the liberal use of money, but this has never been proved. If the accusation is true, considerable allowance should be made for him. Bibb-¹ery was common in those days and he should be judged by the standard of his time.

It is a pleasure to turn from Nicholson's career in New York to his first administration in Virginia. During that term, he displayed the best side of his nature, his achievements were worthy of praise, their effects were lasting and important. The fact that, in a very short time, he won the esteem and affection of a people hard to satisfy, of a people who often seemed to find delight in complaining against a governor, speaks well for him. The fact that he won the good will of this people in the face of a prevailing dissatisfaction caused by the decidedly poor administrations of previous governors, shows that he was able to use tact and skill.

Lord Culpepper and Lord Howard, the two governors who preceded Nicholson, showed themselves altogether inefficient and indifferent to the true welfare of the colony. Lord Howard of Effingham, who succeeded Lord Culpepper in 1783, was a Catholic and a confessed place² hunter. The extensive use he made of fees, the character of the proclamations he issued, his arbitrary removals, his attempt to exer-

----::----

1- Ford, Sketch, in Mag. of Am. Hist., XXIX, 502.

2- Osgood, Am. Colonies in the 17th. Cent., III, 308.

cise a double veto power, and the transfer of the right of electing the speaker of the House of Burgesses from that body to the Crown which was brought about by him, led to the preferring of charges against him to the English government in 1689.¹ Lord Howard went to England^{to} ^Areply to the charges and his being a noble probably saved him. In November, 1690, a commission was issued making him nominal governor with half-pay. Francis Nicholson was made lieutenant-governor and sent to America.² It afterwards became customary to send a lieutenant-governor to each colony to take charge of affairs there- the governor remaining in England.

From what has been said before, it is evident that Nicholson found the Virginian people dissatisfied and uneasy. His stay in New York seems to have taught him that people may best be governed by winning their approval. He therefore did not try to reduce them by force but set about in various ways to win their good will and confidence. With these ends in view, he held athletic contests at which he gave prizes to the winners.³ He also at times feasted the people.⁴

Realizing that discontent was often caused by the spread of certain reports, Nicholson exerted himself to counteract the effects of such reports. He begged the authorities in England to take measures to prevent the spreading of falsehoods by residents of England.⁵ When unfavorable news arrived, he often, in order to prevent disturbances, circulated notices that were not strictly true.⁶

Nicholson realized that the Virginians had many grievances. These he redressed as far as he could. Lord Howard's conception of

1- Cal. of State Pap., Col., 1689-1692, pp. 147-148, 224.

2- Ibid, pp. 473, 1099; Osgood, Am. Colonies in the 17th Cent., III, 308.

3- W. and M. College Quarterly, XI, 87.

4- Howison, Hist. of Va., I, 400.

5- Cal. of State Pap., Col., 1689-1692, p. 665.

6- Ibid, 1689-1692, p. 602.

the royal prerogative had brought him into conflict with the house of burgesses.¹ Much needed legislation had, on this account, been suspended. Under Nicholson a great amount of beneficial legislation took place.² Among the important acts which were passed and which were favored by Nicholson were an act directing the manner in which public claims should be certified for allowance, an act directing the way in which sheriffs and collectors should account for public dues- this provided that tenders of tobacco should be allowed, an act the object of which was to encourage the erection of a post-office in Virginia, an act providing that each taxable person raise and prepare yearly one pound of dressed flax and one of dressed hemp, and thus encouraging manufactures, an act for ports, an act providing for the defence of Virginia. Some of these will be considered later.

In his attitude toward the council and the house of burgesses,³ Nicholson showed wisdom and foresight. He respected their privileges and always showed great courtesy in dealing with them. He always asked the council to propose some alternative to his own proposals and did not force them to accept his own. Toward the burgesses, he was always respectful. However, he never tried to influence them unduly. He sometimes cautioned them against infringing on the royal prerogative. During the years 1691 and 1692, the assembly often showed their appreciation of him by making him liberal presents.

During Nicholson's first administration in Virginia, England and France were at war in both Europe and America. There was some danger that Virginia would be attacked by the French and their Indian allies. The Indians on the Virginian frontier were restless and, led on by for-

- :-----
- 1- Cal. of State Pap., Col., 1689-1692, p. 147; Osgood, Am. Colonies in the 17th. Cent., III, 302.
 - 2- Henning, Statutes, III, 42-103.
 - 3- Cal. of State Pap., Col., 1692-1693, p. 666.
 - 4- Ibid, pp. 454, 635; Va. Mag., V, 63.

eign ones who had come among them, made frequent incursions. Shortly
 after Nicholson assumed the reins of government, he sent interpreters¹
 to the friendly Indians to dissuade them from joining the foreign ones.
 On account of the number killed by the Indians, he at first forbade²
 hunting or trading in the Indian territory. Later, however, the Indian³
 trade was thrown open to all.

Although Nicholson did not want to see the colony plunged
 into a conflict, he prepared for emergencies. In April, 1691, he secured
 the passage of an act which he thought would likely make it unnecessa-⁴
 ry for him to call on the king for much help in case of invasion. This
 act provided that the lieutenant, eleven soldiers and two Indians who
 had been appointed by the lieutenant-governor to cruise about the great
 rivers and in such places as they might discover enemies, be continued,
 and that, in case of emergency, the lieutenant-governor should call⁵
 out the necessary troops. This act was to continue for a year. It was⁶
 twice renewed.

Lord Howard had returned to the Lords of Trade and Plantations
 a favorable account of the condition of the fortifications and of the
 militia at the time of his departure. Nicholson, however, determined to
 investigate. Soon after his arrival, he announced his intention of vis-
 iting the different parts of the province, inspecting the forts and⁷
 rangers, and exercising the militia. He carried out this program with
 energy and despatch. By November 4th. 1691, he had completed the trip.
 In the report which he sent to the Board of Trade and Plantations on
 that date, he stated that the forts were dilapidated and the militia
 poorly armed and inefficient. He requested the king to send him arms,
 stores, and platforms. He also recommended that a strong fort be built

-----:-----

1- Cal. of State Pap., Col., 1689-1692, p. 278.

2- Ibid, p. 381. 3- Henning, Statutes, III, 69.

4- Cal. of State Pap., Col., 1689-1692, p. 473.

5- Henning, Statutes, III, 83. 7-Cal., of State Pap., Col., 1689-

6- Ibid, 98-101, 115, 116. 1692, p. 279. 8- Ibid, p. 339-340

on each navigable river to defend the shipping and that frigates be sent over to guard the country and secure the customs. Later the indefatigable¹ governor again visited the country for similar reasons.

Nicholson was convinced that Maryland and Virginia could be of much assistance to each other in case of invasion. During his first tour of the colony, he crossed the line into Maryland and spent two days with the governor at St. Mary's. In the conference held there, the Marylanders agreed to help the Virginians if summoned to do so.²

The position of New York was such that it had to bear the brunt of the French and Indian attacks. The English government decreed that each of the other colonies should assist it with a certain quota of men and money when called upon to do so. On account of the scarcity of funds and the opposition of the people, Nicholson could not prevail upon the council and assembly to send men to aid the sister colony. However, he was successful³ in his attempts to send it considerable sums of money.

The success of the French and their allies in New York worried him. He feared that the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia were in danger.⁴ In order to resist the French successfully, he thought that the colonial governors should get together and form a defensive union and he recommended this policy to those in charge in England.⁵

In regard to the industries of the colonies, Nicholson pursued a policy which he was convinced would benefit all concerned. He thought that the colonists should devote their energies to raising tobacco and that the English should send over enough ships to bring the manufactured goods from England and to carry away the tobacco.⁶ Thus,

1- Cal. of State Pap., Col., 1689-1692, p. 603. 2- Ibid, p. 674.
3- Ibid, p. 517; 4- Ibid, p. 340; 5- Ibid, p. 602.
6- Ibid, p. 382, 569, 665; Va. Gen'l. Assembly, Cal. of State Pap., p. 38.

he argued, would the colonists receive good prices for their tobacco, the English manufacturers good prices for their manufactured goods, and the king's customs be increased. He, therefore, continually urged the English government to send enough ships to bring over the needed manufactured goods and to take back all the tobacco; for otherwise, he said, the colonists, not having sufficient clothing and tools, would have to establish manufactories, and would have to resort to raising less tobacco as much of what they did raise would spoil. Apparently the request for ships was not well received. Nicholson, therefore, followed the dictates of duty in favoring the passage of a law providing that each taxable person raise and prepare yearly one pound of dressed hemp and one of dressed flax.¹ This law encouraging manufactures was passed by the Virginia assembly.² In his letter to the Lords of Trade and Plantations concerning this law, Nicholson stated that if enough ships with manufactured goods arrived the colonists would not manufacture but would continue to raise tobacco.³ The policy of Nicholson in regard to colonial industries is very important as it was an anticipation of later English colonial policy.

The Acts of Trade and Navigation were a prominent part of the colonial policy of Charles II and later English kings. Had the other colonial governors been as diligent in the enforcement of these laws as Nicholson was they would have accomplished the purpose intended. The indifference of most of the governors, however, and often the culpable understanding they had with those affected by the acts practically led to their non-enforcement in most of the colonies. During Nicholson's first administration in Virginia, he very earnestly tried to enforce these acts and succeeded remarkably well. The diligence with

-----:-----
1- Cal. of State Pap., Cal., 1689-1692, p. 472.

2- Henning, Statutes, III, 81.

3- Cal. of State Pap., Col., 1689-1692, p. 472.

which he executed them won the hearty approbation of Randolph, the Surveyor General of his Majesty's revenue in America.¹

The fact that these laws were not strictly enforced in the neighboring colony of Maryland made the situation of the Virginian people difficult. Owing to the fact that the Maryland government winked at illegal trade, many ships arrived there and the tobacco raised there sold well whereas in Virginia, where the acts of trade were enforced, few ships arrived. Randolph warned Copley, the governor of Maryland, that his bond might be forfeited.² The Virginian people complained that their trade was ruined by the importation of tobacco from the eastern shore of Maryland into Delaware and by the shipping of Scotch and Dutch goods into Maryland.³ In order to remedy these abuses, Nicholson suggested to the English government that, under the navigation laws, goods imported from one colony into another should pay duties.⁴ He also suggested that all the king's collectors in those parts be sworn to observe the acts of trade. To insure the enforcement of these acts, Nicholson secured the passage of an act by which goods were to be bought and sold, loaded and unloaded at certain designated ports.⁵

Although Nicholson, during his first administration in Virginia, was very conscientious in the performance of the duties of his office, he did not confine his energies to those duties, but also directed his attention to other things which he thought would help and improve the colonists. He will always be remembered for the part he took in improving educational facilities. His connection with the founding of William and Mary College is especially noteworthy. The number of schools in Virginia at the time Nicholson assumed the reins of government there, was very small. They were inefficient. A few of the wealth-

-----:-----
1- Cal. of State Pap., Col., 1689-1692, p. 622. 2- Ibid,

3- Ibid, pp. 603, 658. 4- Ibid, p. 603.

5- Henning, Statutes, III, 53-55.

fier people sent their children to England to be educated but the great
 majority of the youth grew up in ignorance. As early as 1619 a college¹
 had been planned. The scheme had been taken up again in 1660. The suc-²
 cession of events culminating in the Bacon Rebellion, however, arrested³
 it. Shortly before Nicholson became lieutenant-governor, the agitation⁴
 began anew. Dr. James Blair, a Scotch clergyman and a graduate of the
 University of Edinburgh, assumed the initiative. He had come to Virginia⁵
 in 1689 and was for the first nine years of his stay there minister at
 Henric City. His proposals were approved by the convention of clergy⁶
 held at Jamestown shortly before Nicholson's arrival.⁷

Nicholson and his council eagerly adopted Blair's proposal⁸
 and recommended them to the next general assembly. That body also a-
 dopted them in May, 1691. Nicholson, however, did not confine his ef-
 forts to recommendations. He headed the subscription list with a liber-
 al allowance. He also sent out numerous briefs to secure the subscrip-⁹
 tions of others. In notices which he sent out, he urged that all assist¹⁰
 such a noble cause to the best of their abilities. Thru his influence,¹¹
 a considerable sum was subscribed in Virginia.¹²

Blair was sent to England to solicit a charter. He succeeded
 in interesting the Bishop of London, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and
 Queen Mary in the project. Finally William turned from the affairs of
 state to listen. The charter was granted February 19, 1693. The school
 was styled "Their Majesty's Royal College of William and Mary".¹³ The
 king and queen made a liberal allowance for the maintenance of the

- :-----
- | | |
|--|--------------------------|
| 1- William and Mary College Quarterly, XVI, 242. | |
| 2- Ibid, VI, 84. | 3- Ibid, |
| 4- Ibid. | 5- Ibid. |
| 6- Motley, Life of Blair, in J.Hopkins Univ. Studies, Series XIX, No. 10, p 456. | |
| 7- William and Mary College Quarterly, VI, 84; XVI, 242. | |
| 8- Ibid, VI., 84. | 9- Ibid, VIII, 167(note) |
| 10- Ibid, XVI, 242. | 11- Ibid, XI, 87. |
| 12- Ibid, XVI, 242. | 13- Ibid, VI, 84. |

school. They granted £ 1985 14s 10p out of the quit rents of Virginia a tax of a penny a pound on tobacco exported from Virginia and Maryland, fees and profits arising from the office of surveyor-general, and 20000 acres of land.¹ The college was the first in America to be recognized by the Crown.² According to the charter, the college was to consist of three schools, viz. Grammar, Philosophy, and Divinity. However, until about 1717, only the Grammar school was operated.³ At first the teaching staff comprised but four persons- James Blair, president, Mungo Inges, grammar master, James Hodges, usher, and James Allen, writing master.⁴ In 1729, there were six professors who were graduates of Edinburgh, Oxford, and Cambridge; at that time there was only one graduate of these Universities in the Harvard faculty.⁵

I have spoken thus fully concerning the founding and progress of the college in order to emphasize the efforts of Nicholson in its behalf. If he had opposed the founding of the college, it would at least have been delayed for years, for Andros, who followed him, was not in sympathy with it. It was Nicholson who secured the appointment of Blair as agent to London,⁶ and directed Jeffrie Jeffries, Virginia's representative in England, to assist him.⁷ He had a great deal to do with drawing up the instructions by which the efforts of Blair in England were directed,⁸ and many of which were embodied in the charter. Nicholson's influence had much to do in securing the appointment of Blair as the first president of the college.⁹ Before the end of his service in Virginia, he saw two sides of the college quadrangle completed.¹⁰ He was a member of the board of trustees and he attended the meetings of that body even when he was governor of Maryland.¹¹

- :-----
- 1- Motley, Life of Blair, in J. Hopkins Univ. Studies, Series XIX, No. 10, p. 475.
 - 2- W. and M. College Quarterly, VI. 84. 3-Ibid, 4-Ibid, 85.,
 - 5- Ibid, 6- Va. Mag., IX 28. 7-Cal. of State Pap., Col., 1689-1692, p. 453. 8- Ibid, p. 457. 9- Va. Mag. VII, 60-62, and IX, 28. 10- Doyle, Eng. Colonies in Am., I, 273.
 - 11- Ford, Sketch, in Mag. of Am. Hist., XXIX, 508.

Nicholson's activities in regard to securing better means of education were not, however, confined to the college. He complained to the home authorities of the scarcity of schoolmasters in Virginia and told them that one ought to be maintained in each parish to teach English and writing.¹

Nicholson's enlightened policy in regard to education may well be contrasted with those of Berkeley and Andros. Berkeley hoped that for years there would be no free schools in America. Andros would not subscribe toward the college and tried to hinder its progress. Some of the people who had subscribed, encouraged by Andros, were slow in paying up and often had to be sued.

The reform of religious conditions also engaged the lieutenant-governor's attention. The number of ministers was too small, their pay was poor and uncertain, and they were generally inefficient and negligent. Nicholson complained against these conditions and recommended that encouragement be given to those in remote parts. He also recommended that a commissary be appointed to inspect the clergy and that he be given a salary of at least one hundred pounds per annum. Blair showed his appointment and salary as a commissary, in a large measure, to this recommendation.²³⁴

On the death of Lord Howard (early in 1692). Andros was appointed to succeed him. He arrived in Virginia September 11th. Nicholson was removed from the colony and later appointed governor of Maryland. So thoroughly had he won the people that Blair and others feared a rising in his behalf.⁵ He, however, had no design of exciting a commotion and wrote letters to quiet the people though he was very angry because he was not elevated to the position left vacant by Lord Howard.

1- Va. Mag., VII, 157.

3- Ibid, 156.

5- Cal. of State Pap., Col., 1680-1692, p. 597.

6- Ibid, p. 723.

2- Ibid, 156-157.

4- Ibid, IX, 23.

7- Ibid, 1693-1694, 1695. 3- Ibid.

The first of these is the fact that the
... of the ... of the ... of the ...
... of the ... of the ... of the ...
... of the ... of the ... of the ...
... of the ... of the ... of the ...

The second of these is the fact that the
... of the ... of the ... of the ...
... of the ... of the ... of the ...
... of the ... of the ... of the ...
... of the ... of the ... of the ...

The third of these is the fact that the
... of the ... of the ... of the ...
... of the ... of the ... of the ...
... of the ... of the ... of the ...
... of the ... of the ... of the ...

The fourth of these is the fact that the
... of the ... of the ... of the ...
... of the ... of the ... of the ...
... of the ... of the ... of the ...
... of the ... of the ... of the ...

The fifth of these is the fact that the
... of the ... of the ... of the ...
... of the ... of the ... of the ...
... of the ... of the ... of the ...
... of the ... of the ... of the ...

and justly thought that his services in Virginia had entitled him to
the place.¹ Shortly after Nicholson's departure, Blair wrote to the
Earl of Nottingham that Nicholson deserved promotion as much as any
governor who had ever been in America.²

----::----

1- Cal. of State Papers., Col., 1693-1696, p. 69.

2- Ibid, p 70.

CHAPTER IV.

NICHOLSON IN MARYLAND: 1694-1698.

Governor Copley of Maryland died September 12th, 1693.¹ His death brought about complications due to the fact that Nicholson, who had been appointed lieutenant-governor was absent in England. Andros,² on hearing of the death of Copley, immediately set out for Maryland. When he arrived there, he presented a royal commission which he claimed empowered him to take possession of the government. Although it only empowered him to take charge in case of the absence of Copley and the death of Nicholson, the council after a heated debate decided to accept Andros' construction.³ This action of Andros was unlawful and arbitrary but he did not stop there. Sir Thomas Lawrence, the king's secretary for Maryland, was the senior member of the council and should have presided over that body.⁴ He had, however, been impeached by Copley's administration, deprived of his offices and imprisoned, but had appealed to the Board of Trade.⁵ Andros was obviously at fault in appointing Colonel Nicholas Greenberry, the fourth in seniority, president of the council.⁶ In April, 1694, after the suspension of Lawrence had been annulled by the home government, Andros again visited Maryland, stayed a week, took away five hundred pounds as a part of his salary, and directed that one hundred and fifty pounds be paid to Greenberry for his services as president of the council.⁷

Nicholson was appointed governor of Maryland February 10, 1694.⁸ He arrived there the latter part of July.⁹ He settled the trouble

- :-----
- | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1- Md. Archives, XX, VI. | 2- Cal. of State Pap., Col., |
| 3- Md. Archives, XIX, 639; | 1693-1696 p. 509. |
| Cal. of State Pap., Col., | 1693-1696 pp. 789, 509. |
| 4- Ibid, 509. | 5- Ibid; Md. Archives, XX, VII. |
| 6- Ibid, 509, and XX, 30 | 7- Cal. of State Pap., Col., 1693- |
| 9- Ibid, 509. | 1696 509. 8- Ibid, 241. |

caused by Andros' usurpation in a sensible way. To avoid disputes, all acts passed since the death of Copley except those disposing of the revenue were confirmed.¹ In order to avoid prosecution and the wrath of the English government, Andros voluntarily refunded most of what he had taken.² Greenberry gave security for what had been given him.

The attitude of the home government concerning the conduct of Andros is important. Some prominent historians have found fault with Nicholson for not assuming the government of New England when Andros was thrown into prison at Boston. The commission of lieutenant-governor which he then held, however, only empowered him to assume control in case of the death of Andros. In the case of Maryland, Andros, with a similar commission, assumed temporary command. The English government, however, wholly disapproved of Andros' course and said that the use he made of the commission was ill-grounded.³ The English officials held that, in Nicholson's absence, the government should have devolved on the council.⁴ The Maryland attorneys took the same view.

Immediately on his arrival, Nicholson asked the council to inform him concerning the state of the province and the circumstances of the surrounding colonies. He found the country very much in debt and many bitter divisions among the people.⁵ King William's War still raged and consequently New York was having a great deal of trouble. The invasion of Maryland was feared. The Indians on the Maryland frontier were restless and massacres of the whites were not uncommon.

As Virginia and Maryland were open and without towns, Nicholson thought they could be best defended by means of ships.⁶ He pointed

- :-----
- 1- Cal. of State Pap., Col., 1693-1696, p. 509.
 - 2- Ibid.
 - 3- Ibid.
 - 4- Md. Archives, XX, 148.
 - 5- Ibid, 105. Cal. of State Pap., Col., 1693-1696, p. 508.
 - 6- Ibid, p. 518.

out to the Board of Trade and Plantations that the country would thus be protected from hostile pirates and privateers and secured from invasion. He found the militia much out of order and at once set about drilling it and perfecting its organization. He soon began to put the colony in a state of defence. As there were no forts or forces at St. Mary's he brought about the distribution of the arms, ammunition and ¹gunpowder to the counties in fixed proportions. Orders and instructions were issued for regulating the militia and Colonel Beale was em-²powered to raise men in cases of Indian insurrections. In October, 1695, Nicholson secured the passage of an act for the appointing of rangers ³for the defence of the province. Later, since the Indian troubles continued, he secured the passage of an act laying out the quarter part ⁴of the revenue for arms and ammunition. Still later, murders by the Indians caused the governor to propose that the six western counties raise 200 men and the five eastern, 200 men for the security of the ⁵frontier and that the number of rangers be increased. This measure was ⁶in the main, adopted. Thus, by Nicholson's earnest efforts, the colonists were protected.

During Nicholson's term in Maryland, New York was still bearing the brunt of King William's War. Governor Fletcher of that colony exerted himself to the utmost to withstand attacks of the French and Indians and to further projects against Canada. The English allies, the Iroquois, had to be handled carefully. It was necessary to make them frequent presents. The New York governor's task was made more difficult by the fact that the other colonies did not respond with their ⁷assessed quotas of men and money, though he sent numerous requests for help to the other governors.

-----:-----

- 1- Md. Archives, XX, 151, 152. XXIII, 14. 2- Ibid, XX, 152-154.
- 3- Ibid, XIX, 238. 4- Ibid, XXIII, 171-173.
- 5- Ibid, 231, 232.
- 6- Ibid, 239-241.
- 7- Ibid; Cal. of State Pap., Col., 1693-1696, p. 677.

Nicholson sincerely wished to carry out the king's orders in respect to New York, but various things combined to make this impracticable. The people of Maryland murmured against helping New York. It was feared that if men were granted for that purpose, many would desert the province. The members of the assembly, while feeling themselves bound by the king's orders to help to a certain extent, voiced the sentiment of the people and tried to reduce the help sent to a minimum. They complained of the great expense and constant burdens they had been bearing since the revolution, of the failure of the crops, of the murmurings of the people, of the restlessness of the Indians, etc. They said that the king's orders did not require them to arm and pay their quota of men and that it would be impossible for them to pay such a force. They further claimed that they could not see that the safety of Maryland involved that of New York. However, they contradicted this statement when they claimed that, owing to the threatened invasion of the French, they must raise more men to protect their own frontiers. As early as October 20, 1694, the council and house of delegates petitioned to be relieved from helping New York. Nicholson realized that the Maryland people were overburdened and sorely pressed. He, therefore, represented the facts to Governor Fletcher and joined with the assembly in petitioning the king to relieve Maryland from assisting. In the meantime, by exerting himself to the utmost, he managed to send considerable sums of money

-----:-----
1- Cal. of State Pap., Col., 1693-1696, p. 561.

2- Md. Archives, XX, 274.

3- Cal. of State Pap., Col., 1693-1696, pp. 382, 383, 561-562.

4- Ibid, p. 562. Md. Archives, XX, 274.

5- Ibid, 342. 6- Cal. of State Pap., Col., 1693-1696, p. 606.

7- Ibid, p. 606.

8- Ibid, p. 383.

9- Md. Archives, XIX, 149; XX, 371.

to governor Fletcher.¹ August 14, 1695, he recommended to the house of delegates that a bank be established to take care of the money that should be raised for helping New York. He also recommended that money be raised for this purpose by a duty upon negroes and servants imported, upon wood and earthen ware, and upon molasses and sugar imported by foreigners.² These measures were not adopted, however, and Nicholson complained to Fletcher that he had done his utmost to assist New York as ordered but that he could not force the assembly.³ The governor even went so far as to loan the assembly sums of his own money to send to New York; finally, however, the house of delegates refused to be further indebted to him.⁴ Later, Nicholson secured the issuing of an order that all ships leaving Maryland and carrying provisions give security to go to Newfoundland.⁵ Thus were the English forces there helped. Finally, close to the end of Nicholson's term, the house of delegates refused to send any more help to New York until they had been informed by the English government of the fate of their petition.⁶

During Nicholson's term as governor of Maryland, he was as diligent in enforcing the Acts of Trade and Navigation as he was in Virginia. Thru his earnest efforts, violations of these acts in Maryland were confined to smuggling and that was greatly impeded. As the subjects of illegal trade and piracy were then very closely intermingled I shall not attempt to treat them separately. I have mentioned that Nicholson believed that a few vessels would be of great assistance in protecting Maryland from privateers. He also thought they would stop illegal trade.⁶ In his opinion, one small frigate, a brigantine, and a fire ship should be provided for each province.⁷ He held that vessels

1- Cal. of State Pap., Col., 1693-1696, pp. 581, 606.

2- Md. Archives, XIX, 149-150. 3- Ibid, XX, 371.

4- Ibid, XIX, 388-389.

5- XXIII, 268-269.

6- Ibid, XXIII, 85-86.

7- Cal. of State Pap., Col., 1693-1696, p. 518.

cruising along the coast between Maryland and Pennsylvania would be¹ of great service in driving pirates and illegal traders from the seas. The English government, in a measure, followed his recommendations, and directed him to prepare and commission vessels to scour the² coasts of Maryland and Pennsylvania. This he did. These vessels did good work.

In order to hinder illegal trade, Nicholson recommended the passage of an act requiring that goods be loaded and unloaded at a few designated ports.³ In order that in the future illegal traders might find it difficult to furnish the required bond, he put all forfeited plantation bonds in suit and obtained judgment in a number of cases.⁴ The indefatigable governor, however, had much trouble in getting judges and juries to try and convict illegal traders. Sometimes he felt called upon to reprimand them and to offer rewards for convictions.⁵ As the juries remained obstinate, he advised the establishment of an admiralty court. This recommendation was adopted and Nicholson was given power to appoint judges, registers, marshals, and advocates of the court of admiralty of Maryland, Pennsylvania and West Jersey.⁶

While the governors of Virginia and Maryland were very active in the king's service, those in charge in the other colonies made little or no effort to check piracy or to put a stop to illegal trading. Especially was this true in Pennsylvania. It is said that the pirates walked boldly in the streets of Philadelphia strong in the support of the merchants who had a profitable trade with them.⁷ There seems to be abundant evidence that governor Markham and his helpers at Philadelphia countenanced both illegal trade and piracy and shared in the profits.⁸ Nicholson and the Maryland people resented such conduct

-----:-----
1- Cal. of State Pap., Col., 1693-1696, p. 520.

2- Md. Archives, XX, 240, 262, 266. 3- Ibid, XXIII, 86.

4- Ibid, XXIII, 4, 88; Cal. of State Pap., Col., 1697-1698, p. 182.

5- Md. Archives, XX, 180, 181. 6- Cal. of State Pap., Col., 1693-1696, p. 510; Md. Archives, XXIII, 322. 8- Ibid, p. 183,

7- Cal. of State Pap., Col., 1697-1698, p. XII; 1693-1696 p. 520.

and the energy and prosperity of the Pennsylvania people probably increased this resentment. This feeling showed itself in the passage of a law which Nicholson recommended¹. It provided that goods imported into Maryland for Pennsylvania pay a tax of ten per cent.

The Maryland governor tried to secure the enforcement of the laws in Pennsylvania as well as in Maryland. With this object in view he caused ships to cruise along the Pennsylvania coast² and secured the establishment of the admiralty court in Pennsylvania³. In order to gain information of the extent to which piracy and illegal trade were tolerated, he made frequent journeys thru Pennsylvania where he found the people disposed to encourage illegal trade⁴. He sent proclamations to Governor Markham for the apprehension of pirates, but Markham, instead of arresting, encouraged and supported them. Finally, Nicholson lost patience and sent troops over the border for the purpose of arresting men accused of piracy and of harboring deserters⁵. The Pennsylvania assembly tried to legalize the illegal and piratical trade by removing the jurisdiction over it from the king's officers and placing it in the hands of juries. Nicholson vigorously protested against this act to the Lords of Trade and Plantations⁶ declaring that, if it remained in force, the admiralty court established in Pennsylvania would be of no use. Having in view Governor Markham's conduct, he urged that the governors be compelled to take stringent oaths to enforce the acts of trade and the acts against piracy⁷. Nicholson's attitude toward ille -

-----::-----

1- Md. Archives, XXIII, 223, 238.

2- Ibid, XX, 240; XXIII, 85. Cal. of State Pap., Col., 1693-1696, p509.

3- Ibid, pp. 500, 510.; Md. Archives, XXIII, 322.

4- Cal. of State Pap., Col., 1693-1696 p.510. 1697-1698 p.50.

5- Ibid, p. 44.

6- Ibid, p. 387.

7- Ibid, p. 388.

gal trade and piracy during his term in Maryland won the approval and commendation of Randolph and others who were anxious to have the laws¹ enforced.

In regard to colonial industries, Nicholson advocated the same measures he had so strenuously urged in Virginia.¹ He complained much of the merchants and buyers who, thinking they would profit thereby, discouraged large crops by reporting that only a few ships would come from England and that tobacco was cheap there. He contradicted² these reports as much as he could by scattering good news. During the first part of his administration in Maryland, few ships arrived and³ much tobacco was spoiled, but his efforts to secure enough ships were finally crowned with success and during the latter part of his term⁴ plenty of ships arrived. English goods then sold at low prices and tobacco was high.

The reports of plenty in the Jerseys, Carolina and Pennsylvania, the high taxes to which the Marylanders had been subjected since the revolution, and the encouragement given to handicraftsmen⁵ in Pennsylvania, caused many persons to migrate from Maryland. In order to stop this migration, Nicholson recommended the passage of an ordinance punishing as disturbers of the peace those who tried to entice⁶ persons to leave the province. The measure was defeated by the delegates.⁷

During colonial days, the distribution and delivery of mail was a very slow process. The roads were poor and stages were scarce.

----::-----

1- Cal. of State Pap., Col., 1693-1696, p. 509.

2- Ibid, 1696-1697, p. 391.

3- Ibid.

4- Ibid.

5- Md. Archives, XX, 328; XXIII, 84.

6- Ibid, XX, 329

7- Ibid, XXII, 49.

THE [illegible] OF THE [illegible] IN THE [illegible]

THE [illegible] OF THE [illegible] IN THE [illegible]

THE [illegible] OF THE [illegible] IN THE [illegible]

THE [illegible] OF THE [illegible] IN THE [illegible]

It took years to overcome many of the difficulties but Nicholson made a start in the right direction in Maryland when he recommended that a public post be established between the Potomac and Philadelphia and¹ that a salary be paid the carrier. The assembly recognized the value² of the recommendation and passed a law to that effect.

Nicholson found in Maryland many mistaken ideas concerning the judiciary. These he endeavored to correct. Some of the leading people were of the opinion that the governor and council could not rightfully hear cases brought before them on appeal or writ of error. Nicholson held the opposite view and secured opinions sustaining him³ from the king's and other noted attorneys. The governor told the judges that they should proceed according to the law and not according to con-⁴science and equity. He also told them to direct juries to decide⁵ strictly according to the facts as given in the evidence.

When Nicholson assumed charge in Maryland, the seat of government was located at St. Mary's. During the first year of his term, he secured the passage of an act transferring it to the town of Anne Arundel,⁶ later known as Annapolis. This was a wise and necessary change since St. Mary's was no longer near the center of population as that had moved northward. It was also unhealthy. The citizens of St. Mary's⁷ however, vigorously protested against this removal. They urged a number of reasons which were not supported by fact, viz: that St. Mary's⁸ was healthful, the most convenient port, etc. They claimed that much

- :-----
- 1- Md. Archives, XIX, 150.
 - 2- Ibid, XX, 246.
 - 3- Ibid, 135, 136.
 - 4- Ibid, XXIII, 253.
 - 5- Ibid, XXIII, 254.
 - 6- Ibid, XIX, 77, 139.
 - 7- Ibid, 71-77.
 - 8- Ibid, 71-74.

money had been expended on account of its being the capital and that¹ considerable estates had been taken around it on the understanding² that it was to remain such. The governor and assembly claimed that no large estates had been laid out in the neighborhood of St. Mary's.³ They did not deem the petition worthy of reply.

St. Mary's thus deprived of the seat of government, soon⁴ died. Annapolis, under the fostering care of Nicholson, soon began to assume a prosperous appearance. When the seat of government was removed there, it consisted only of an irregular cluster of houses.⁵ These soon gave way and regular streets appeared. During Nicholson's term forty new houses were built there, seven or eight of which were⁶ able to accomodate strangers. Sir Thomas Lawrence, who visited the town in the latter part of March, 1697, reported that he found the governor in good health "carrying on a fair house for the public administration of justice and all offices of business in the country-a fine brick building." He also found there a fine church and a public school well in the course of construction. He estimated that the former would cost one thousand pounds and the latter, five hundred.⁷

When Nicholson arrived in Maryland, he found that no provisions for education had been made there. A man of Nicholson's disposition could not long remain silent on a subject which he considered to be of the utmost importance and he at once began to urge upon the members of the assembly the importance of popular education, telling them⁸

-----:-----

1- Md. Archives, XIX, 72.

2- Ibid, 73.

3- Ibid, 77.

4- Randall, A Puritan Colony in Md., in J. Hopkins Univ. Studies Series IV, No. 6 p. 44.

5- Ibid. 6- Ford, Sketch, in Mag. of Am. Hist., XXIX, 505.

7- Md. Archives, XXIII, 79..

8- Ibid, XX, IX.

that there should be a free school in every county. This proposal nearly took the breath away from the tight-fisted delegates, but Nicholson was not a man to be beaten, for persistency was one of his most prominent characteristics. He recommended that they begin with one school at Annapolis- on the eastern shore- and offered, himself, to give fifty pounds down, twenty five pounds a year while in office, and his share of the ¹ vessels forfeited for violation of the navigation acts. His persistent efforts finally had their reward in the passage of an act for the creation of a free school at Annapolis to be called King William's School. ² It was to be governed by a board of trustees, of which Nicholson was at the head, ³ whose members were to serve for life and were to elect their own successors. The council and the house of delegates together subscribed forty-five thousand pounds of tobacco toward building and maintaining the school. ⁴ Nicholson subscribed the amount he had promised, and ⁵ an export duty on furs was also granted for the benefit of the school. The governor, moreover, secured additional clauses in the act by which the founding of future schools was provided for. Whenever the income of the Annapolis school became more than one hundred and twenty pounds per year the trustees were to found another at Oxford, on the western shore, and, in a similar manner, were to proceed as fast as possible to the founding of other free schools in the province. Thus, thru the efforts of Nicholson, a system of education, which afterward developed, was begun in Maryland.

During Nicholson's career in New York, he did not seem to have any very pronounced religious convictions. During his first term in Virginia, however, he showed considerable religious activity; but

-----:-----
1- Md. Archives, XX, 181, IX.

2- Ibid, XXIII, 420-426.

3- Ibid, 421, 424.

4- Ibid.

5- Ibid, XXIII, 276.

6- Ibid, 425.

in Maryland, as well as during his first term in Virginia, he was an ardent supporter of the Church of England. Under Lord Baltimore, Protestantism had not thrived in Maryland.¹ The council and, generally, the governor had been Catholic. There had been few Protestant clergy in the colony and those that were there had been supported by voluntary subscriptions. The Catholics, on the other hand, were well supplied with priests. The mass of the people knew little about the principles of the Established Church. During Copley's administration, acts had been passed for the establishment of the Church of England, but these had been disallowed.²

When Nicholson arrived in Maryland, he found few Episcopal churches.³ He at once became active. The vestrymen were ordered to provide for the speedy erection of churches where they were needed.⁴ During his term, about thirty Episcopal churches were built. On account of the scarcity of ministers, Nicholson urged the London authorities to send more over.⁵ He also urged upon them the necessity of appointing a commissary,⁶ and the Bishop of London responded by appointing Dr. Bray his commissary in Maryland. This worthy man did not arrive in the colony, however, until Nicholson's term had almost elapsed.⁷

The governor secured better provision for the clergy. He tried to bring about the construction of a good parsonage in each parish,⁸ and offered to give five pounds sterling toward the building of each house and to bear the expense of surveying the glebe on which it was to be situated.

-----:-----

- 1- Cal. of State Pap., Col., 1697-1698, p. 251.
- 2- Md. Archives, XXIII, 82.
- 3- Ibid, 4- Ibid, XX, 283.
- 5- Ibid, XXIII 82. 6- Ibid,
- 7- Mereness, Md. as a Propr. Province, 439.
- 8- Md. Archives, XX, IX.

I have stated that the mass of the Maryland people were ignorant of the principles of the Episcopal belief. Nicholson wished to increase their knowledge of these principles and also their religious fervor. He, therefor, secured the passage of an order requiring that in each parish where there was no minister, the vestrymen should furnish a sober and discreet person to read prayers on Sunday. He, however, realized that the people could not be properly instructed unless the parishes were supplied with suitable religious books. He, therefore, presented many of the parishes with Bibles, the Rev. Dr. William's Catechisms and Lawfulness of the Common Prayer Worship, etc.

One of the greatest discouragements to the clergy was the uncertainty of their salaries which were raised by voluntary contributions. In 1696, the governor secured the passage of an act for the establishment of religion which provided that each taxable person should pay forty pounds for supporting a minister of the Church of England. It also provided that services be performed as in England and that the Church be permitted to enjoy the same rights and privileges as in England.

The act as passed, however, contained a statement that the people of Maryland should enjoy all their rights and privileges according to the laws and statutes of England in cases where the laws of Maryland were silent. Nicholson, before the passage of the act, told the delegates that any act concerning both spiritual and temporal things would not meet the approval of the king. The delegates would not budge. As a result, the English government disallowed the act and

1- Md. Archives, XX, 283.

3- Ibid, XIX, 426-430.

5- Ibid.

6- Ibid.

7- Ibid, XIX, 414.

8- Ibid, 415.

2- Ibid, XXIII, 77.

4- Ibid, 426.

it was not until 1702 that, thru the efforts of Dr. Bray, an act for the establishment was passed in Maryland and accepted by the home government.¹

Nicholson did not only try to win the people of Maryland to the Episcopal belief but he also planned to convert the Indians.² He thought this could best be done by the erection of schools for the education of both the Indians and the English.

During his term in Maryland, Nicholson seems to have been much opposed to Catholicism. The danger arising from placing the government in the hands of a Catholic was one of the reasons he urged against restoring it to Lord Baltimore.³ Indeed, his zeal for religion at this time attracted the attention of noted English ecclesiastics.⁴ The Bishop of Litchfield considered him worthy of being a bishop. The Reverend Nicholas Moreau of Virginia (in a letter to the Bishop of Litchfield) said, "An eminent bishop of that same character sent over here with him will make hell tremble and settle the Church of England in these parts forever."

Nicholson's term of service in Maryland was not characterized by perfect harmony. There was considerable opposition to the manner in which he discharged the duties of his office. It was also alleged that he overstepped the bounds of his authority. One of the discordant elements was led by Colonel John Coode- the man who was at the head of the movement which overthrew the proprietary government and brought the revolution in Maryland to completion.⁵ Among his abettors were, Gerard Slye, Philip Clark and Robert Mason. Coode was a man of considerable ability but utterly unscrupulous. He was a blasphemous, profligate fellow.⁶ Nicholson received notice of his actions. The tes-

-----:-----

1-Mereness, Md. as a Propr. Province, 438-439. 2-Md. Archives, XXIII, 83. 3-Cal. of State Pap., Col., 1697-1698, pp. 359, 386.

4-Ford, Sketch, in Mag. of Am. Hist., XXIX, 507.

5-Md. Archives, XXIII, VII, VIII. 6-Ibid, XIX, pp. 439, 490.

timony of the witnesses examined by Nicholson and his council, September 22, 1696, showed, among other things, that Coode did not believe in¹ Jesus Christ and claimed that religion was but a policy. Nicholson's religious zeal was awakened and Coode was at once dismissed from the office of lieutenant-colonel of the militia of St. Mary's County and² his prosecution was ordered. December 12th, Coode, who had been a receiver of duties and customs, was found short four hundred thirty-nine pounds, ten shillings and eleven pence. The grand jury also found a³ bill against him for blasphemy.⁴ In the meantime, however, Coode had fled to Virginia. Nicholson sent numerous letters to Andros urging him⁵ to try to arrest Coode; but Andros, while pretending to comply with⁶ the request, really sheltered the fugitive. Safe in Virginia, Coode⁷ drew up a long list of charges against Nicholson. These were forwarded to the lords justices of England by General Slye. Most of the charges⁸ were false and ridiculous and were afterward disproved. Slye was later⁹ arrested and convicted of slander. He acknowledged that his conviction was just. The trouble between the governor on the one hand, and Coode and his abettors on the other, disturbed the government and produced¹⁰ discontent.

The proof of this is seen in the attitude of the house of delegates toward these men. Nicholson urged that, on account of his conduct, Coode should lose his seat in the house, but the delegates voted¹¹ that he was qualified. Mason was sheriff and treasurer of St. Mary's County. On account of his activity in Coode's behalf and negligence

- :-----
- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1- Md. Archives, XIX, 491. | 2- Ibid, 490. |
| 3- Ibid, XX, 561; XXIII, 452. | 4- Ibid, XX, 562. |
| 5- Ibid, 564. | 6- Ibid, XXIII, 35, 504. |
| 7- Ibid, 374-379. 412-415. 450-452. | |
| 8- Ibid, 377-378. | 9- Ibid, 524. |
| 10- Ibid, 472, 526. | 11- Ibid, XIX, 438-439. |

in making up his treasurer's account, Nicholson urged that he be dismissed¹ from the king's service. The house protested against such action.² The council, however, supported the governor and Mason was dismissed.³ Clark was arrested and cast into prison. The delegates protested against his imprisonment and asked that he be released and allowed⁴ to take his seat in the house. They hinted that he should have his rights as a member of Parliament.⁵

The discord between Nicholson and the house of delegates seems to have had its rise in the Coode episode. From that as a starting point, it grew in volume and intensity. The circulation of reports by the Coode faction and the sympathy shown it by the delegates caused Nicholson to become more suspicious and overbearing. Consequently, he violated many of their privileges. His interference with the freedom of speech in the house and his summoning of certain members to appear before the council to answer for words spoken there caused the delegates to protest indignantly, but the protests fell on heedless ears.⁶ The delegates, however, did not only complain of the violation of their privileges. They also complained that the governor coerced juries,⁷ that he summoned vestrymen and justices of the peace to Annapolis to answer for trivial offenses,⁸ and that attorneys, without having been legally convicted of any crime, had been dismissed from their practice as attorneys.⁹ It seems that Nicholson did try to exert an undue influence over juries.¹⁰ Investigation of the records shows so many conflicting claims and counter claims in regard to

1-Md. Archives, XXII,105;XXIII,406.

3-Ibid,XXIII, 406.

5-Ibid, 167.

7-Ibid, 179.

8-Ibid,XXII, 35-36, 108-109, 179.

2- Ibid,XXII, 106,111

4- Ibid, XXII, 166.

6- Ibid,XXII,179,185.

9- Ibid,87.

10- Ibid, 182.

the first of the series of lectures on the history of the English language, which were given at the University of Cambridge in the year 1829. The lectures were given by the Rev. John A. Murray, D.D., who was then a member of the University of Cambridge. The lectures were published in the year 1830, and were the first of a series of lectures on the history of the English language, which were given at the University of Cambridge in the year 1829.

The second of the series of lectures on the history of the English language, which were given at the University of Cambridge in the year 1829. The lectures were given by the Rev. John A. Murray, D.D., who was then a member of the University of Cambridge. The lectures were published in the year 1830, and were the first of a series of lectures on the history of the English language, which were given at the University of Cambridge in the year 1829.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE
PRINTED BY J. JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD
1830

the other charges that it is impossible to determine whether they were justified or not. Thru all the controversy, the council supported the governor. The conflict hindered legislation, caused distraction and discontent, and brought about a detrimental change in Nicholson's temper and his ideas of governing.¹

This chapter would not be complete without mentioning the western policy advocated by Nicholson. He urged the home government to possess itself of the Ohio River and to build forts along its banks to keep the French from extending their colonies on the back of the English possessions. He also urged the wisdom of building forts and trading houses on the western frontier to keep the Indians faithful. These propositions were seriously considered by the English government.² Considered in the light of subsequent developments, they show great wisdom and foresight on the part of Nicholson.

Notwithstanding the fact that Nicholson's administration in Maryland was not altogether a peaceful one, there can be no doubt about the greatness of his work there. Its results were lasting. Dr. Bray said that the works the governor was carrying on would, when accomplished,³ make his name dear to all following generations.

-----:-----

1- Md. Archives, XXII, 35-36. 108-109, 166; XXIII, 167.

2- Cal. of State Pap. Col., 1693-1696, p 518.

3- Md. Archives, XX, XI.

CHAPTER V.

NICHOLSON IN VIRGINIA, 1698-1705.

Edmund Andros was removed from the governorship of Virginia in 1698. His attitude on religious and educational subjects had led to the preferring of charges against him by Commissary James Blair. Andros had been represented in England by four men, but Blair had proved more¹ than a match for them all.

A number of forces were working for the appointment of Nicholson to the place left vacant by Andros. Blair earnestly recommended his transfer from Maryland to Virginia.² Nicholson's activity in the king's service had won the approval of the home government and his religious energy caused the influential English clergy to favor his advancement.³ Those in charge in England also knew that his appointment would meet the approval of the Virginians.

Nicholson's commission as governor of Virginia was issued in⁴ August, 1698. His term began December 9th.⁵ It soon became evident that his conception of the method of governing had undergone a great change. On the day that the governor's commission was published, Blair recommended to him in the name of the Bishop of London that he exercise moderation in the execution of the duties of his office. Nicholson hotly replied, "G--- --- --, I know better how to govern Virginia and Maryland than all the bishops in England; if I had not hampered them in Maryland and kept them under, I should never have been able to have governed them!"⁶

1-Motley, Life of Blair, in J. Hopkins Studies, Series XIX, No. 10, 44-46. 2- Va. Mag., IX, 27-28.

3- Ford, Sketch, in Mag. of Am. Hist., XXIX, 507.

4- Cal. of State Pap., Col., 1697-1698 p. 400.

5- Motley, Life of Blair, in J. Hopkins, Studies, Series, XIX, No. 10, 47. 6- Va. Mag., VII, 154.

It seems that Nicholson's former experience in Virginia should have taught him that the people of Virginia could best be governed by civility.

The illfeeling between Andros and Nicholson originated prior¹ to the latter's first administration in Virginia. Andros thoroughly hated his enemies and his displacement by Nicholson cut him to the quick. As he was determined to make his successor's path as thorny as he could, he did not leave Nicholson any of the letters he had received from the Board of Trade or any other public documents relating to his administration. He even refused to give an account of the revenues or of the fortifications.² Nicholson, however, interrogated the auditor and the gunners and thus obtained some of the needed information.³

During Nicholson's term, there was considerable difficulty with the neighboring Indians. The conduct of the Piscataways aroused suspicions. The governor sent messengers to their emperor in March, 1699, to order him to appear before the assembly at Jamestown on or before May 21st. These men were directed to keep a full account of the journey, the fortifications, and the number of Indians. They were also to determine how many officers and rangers were stationed in the different parts of the country thru which they travelled, and how long they had served, and what was due them. The ambassadors made a valuable report.⁴ The Piscataways were later accused of various depredations,⁵ but they protested their innocence. The uneasiness and incursions of the Indians, however, caused the governor to direct the raising and equipping of more rangers to guard the frontiers.⁶

-----:-----
1- Cal. of State Pap., Col., 1693-1696, p. 69.

2- W. and M. College Quarterly, 11, 165-166.

3- Ibid, 166.

4- Cal. of Va. State Pap., I, 62-64.

5- Ibid, 69-70.

6- Ibid, 71.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
LIBRARY

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
LIBRARY
1100 EAST 58TH STREET
CHICAGO, ILL. 60637
TEL. 773-936-5000
FAX 773-936-5001
WWW.CHICAGO.EDU

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
LIBRARY
1100 EAST 58TH STREET
CHICAGO, ILL. 60637
TEL. 773-936-5000
FAX 773-936-5001
WWW.CHICAGO.EDU

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
LIBRARY
1100 EAST 58TH STREET
CHICAGO, ILL. 60637
TEL. 773-936-5000
FAX 773-936-5001
WWW.CHICAGO.EDU

Realizing that a better means of defence was needed, he secured the passage of an act for the settlement of societies on the frontier.¹ The members of each of these were to be free from quitrents for twenty years; during that time they were to be exempted from taxes and from military service except for their own defence.² They were, however, to furnish one able-bodied man completely armed and equipped, for every five hundred acres and were to build a fort before the end of the first two years of their settlement.³ The plan set forth in this act does not appear to have materialized.

On May 7th, 1702, England declared war against France and Spain. May 22nd, Nicholson told the assembly that war between England and France was imminent and urged it to make preparations.⁴ On the 27th, the burgesses authorized the governor to levy competent forces in case of emergency.⁵

Nicholson's stay in New York had opened his eyes to the far-reaching designs of the French. At first, he advocated the cooperation of the colonies in defence. When he came to Virginia, in the latter part of 1698, he had become convinced of the impossibility of this. During his term there, he recommended to the home government that all the colonies on the main land be placed under a viceroy with regal powers and a standing army.⁶

During his second term in Virginia, Nicholson continued to enforce the acts of trade and navigation with energy. Before he assumed the reins of government, there had been no admiralty court in Virginia.⁷

-----:-----

1- Henning, Statutes, III, 204-209.

2- Ibid, 206.

3- Ibid, 207.

4- Cal. of Va. State Pap., I, 78-79.

6- Md. Archives, XX, IX-X. 5- Ibid, 79.

7- Cal. of State Pap., Col., 1699, p. 311.

His experience in Maryland had shown him the value of such a court. He¹ soon secured its establishment in Virginia. He also urged upon the English government the necessity of annulling the act passed by Pennsylvania for the trial of persons accused of illegal trading.² This act provided for trial by judges and juries under no oaths. Nicholson urged that the law was intended to frustrate the court of admiralty.

When Nicholson assumed charge in Virginia, he found the colony much in debt. There was neither money nor tobacco in the bank to pay the debts, nor was there any act in force by which money could be raised.³ To make matters worse, the state house at Jamestown had recently (October 31st.) been destroyed by fire. This was the last of the state houses built there that had been burnt to the ground.⁴

Nicholson seized the opportunity to recommend that the seat⁵ of government be removed to Middle Plantation. The suggestion was a wise one. The location of Jamestown was unhealthy. Its inhabitants were much troubled by mosquitoes and malaria. Middle Plantation was situated⁶ seven miles from Jamestown. It was located on a ridge between the York and James rivers and was well drained by two large creeks. On account⁷ of its dryness, it was nearly free from malaria and mosquitoes.

The general assembly approved the recommendation of the governor, and, April 27, 1699, passed an act "for laying out the new town⁸ and for building the new government house." The name of the place was changed to Williamsburg. Nicholson was the chairman of the board of directors that was appointed to oversee the building of the town.⁹ It was his original intention to have the town laid out in the shape of a cipher representing William and Mary. Later he changed his opinion in

-----:-----
 1-Cal. of State Pap., Col., 1700, p. 498. 2- Ibid, 1699, p. 248.
 3- W. and M. College Quarterly, XI, 166. 4- Ibid, X, 73.
 5- Ibid, XVI, 11; X, 73. 7- Ibid, X, 73;
 6- Ibid, XVI, 11. XVI, 11.
 8- Ibid, X, 74.
 9- Ibid, VI, 11; X, 74.

regard to this, but a suggestion of the letters may still be seen in¹ the make-up of the eastern and western ends. In a short time, under the fostering care of Nicholson, a brick capitol (the first building in the United States called by that name) and a brick prison made their appearance.² The building of the town was well begun during his administration.³

To provide the means for building the capitol and for other public uses, the governor secured the passage of acts laying impositions⁴ upon liquors and upon servants and slaves imported. He also prevailed⁵ on the assembly to levy assessments from time to time.

The great interest Nicholson had previously shown in education continued after his removal to Virginia. He again actively supported William and Mary College. The overbearing manner in which he directed the affairs of this school, however, offended some of the most prominent⁶ of the Virginians. His educational activities were not confined to one object. In 1697, he gave to the trustees of Yorktown, in York County, his three half-acre lots and the houses located thereon for a school. Robert Leighten became the first teacher of the school founded there.⁷ Nicholson also aided the cause of education by giving money to⁸ the lawyers of Gloucester County for the purchase of law books.

One of the most important features of Nicholson's second administration was the support and encouragement he extended to the Church and the clergy. The great majority of the clergy of Virginia spoke of him as the great patron, protector, and benefactor of both of these. His patronage was not limited to Virginia. The colonies along

1- W. and M. College Quarterly, XVI, II.

2- Ibid, 12.

3- Ibid, X, 78-83.

4- Henning, Statutes, III, 189-195;

5- Ibid, 199, 202-203.

6- Va. Mag., VIII, 265-267.

7- W. and M. College Quarterly, VI, 78.

8- Va. Mag., VIII, 126-127.

9- Ibid, VIII, 51-52

the Atlantic coast from Massachusetts to Virginia shared in his con-
tributions toward the erection and support of churches.¹

The governor seems, however, to have been somewhat domineer-
ing in church affairs. The case of Rev. Mr. Whaley furnishes an exam-
ple.¹ In 1702, he was chosen to succeed Mr. Doyley as minister in
Brutan Parish Number 1. He was elected for one year. His parishoners
do not seem to have been very well satisfied with him for, after his
year was over, he was not retained. He was, however, invited to remain
for a short time while looking for another parish. The vestry wished
to give the Reverend Mr. Grace, who had just arrived in the colony, a
trial, but the governor forbade him to come into the parish. Nicholson
was offended because the vestry didn't select Whaley as their permanent
minister.² It retained him until his death, but elected him from year
to year.

I have mentioned the change wrought in the character of Nichol-
son by the opposition he encountered in Maryland and the views he held
when he began his second administration in Virginia. An unfortunate
love affair seems to have completed the deleterious change in him.²
Shortly after his return to Virginia, he fell violently in love with
one of the daughters of the second Lewis Burwell and "demanded her in
royal style of her parents." As the young lady and her family opposed
the match, he became furious and persisted in his design. All the in-
habitants of Virginia felt the effects. He especially threatened the
father and brother of the girl, Commissary Blair, and the Reverend
Mr. Fouance.⁴ He threatened to take the lives of the young lady's father
and brother if she did not yield and told Blair that, if she married

-----:-----

1- Meade, Old Churches, Ministers, and Families in Va.,
I, 149.

2- Ibid. 4- Meade, Old Churches, Ministers,
and Families in Va., I, 159, note.

3- Ibid, 159, note; W. and M. College Quarterly, XVI, 12;
Motley, Life of Blair, in J. Hopkins Univ. Studies,
Series XIX, No, 10, 48.

another, he would kill three men, "the bridegroom, the minister, and the justice who performed the ceremony." Gentlemen who visited the family became objects of suspicion.¹

Nicholson's conduct in Virginia soon led to more or less discontent and finally the major part of his council preferred charges against him to the English government. The complainants were J. Lightfoot, Matthew Page, Benjamin Harrison, Robert Carter, James Blair, and Philip Ludwell.² Ludwell took the charges to England. John Thrale,³ Nicholson's agent in England, replied to them. As neither side seems to have shown any great regard for truth and as there are so many conflicting statements, it is very difficult to determine to what extent they were true. A careful examination of the evidence on both sides, however, leads to some interesting conclusions.

A number of the charges were unfounded. The complainants claimed that the governor recommended councilors to the government in England without consulting the council.⁴ Even if Nicholson did this,⁵ he was not violating his instructions. The nomination of justices of the peace, sheriffs, and officers of the militia by the governor without the consent of the council was one of the grievances complained of Nicholson's instructions justified such a course.⁶ Although Nicholson was ordered to present to his council only such parts of his instructions as he saw fit, the fact that he concealed some of them was brought against him.⁷ Such charges as the governor's excessive use of her majesty's name and his calling together too many assemblies, do not require any attention.⁸

-----:-----

1-Meade, Old Churches, Ministers, and Families, in Va., I, 159- note; W. and M. College Quarterly, XVI, 12.

2- Ibid. Va. Mag., III, p.382. 401.

5- Ibid, IV, 49.

7- Va. Mag., IV, 50.

9- Ibid, III, 375, 378.

3- Ibid, VII, 275-286; 386-

4- Ibid, III, 375.

6- Va. Mag., III, 374.

8- Ibid, IV, 49; VII, 387;

III, 376.

Thrale's admissions and omissions, and other evidence helps to establish the truth of many of the charges. I will give my deductions. It seems that Nicholson unlawfully restrained the land surveyors in the execution of their duties and that he caused many persons to lose money by opening up the land on Blackwater Neck and then, by his private orders, stopping the survey.¹ He threatened in an insolent manner, any of the councillors who differed from him. He dealt with both houses of the assembly in a tyrannical manner- interfering with the freedom of debate in those bodies and browbeating and threatening those who opposed him.² He even went so far as to closet the members and to cajole and threaten them, to gain his ends.³ The governor seems especially to have hated certain members of the council. These he called villains, rouges, rascals, cowards, and dogs, to their faces and behind their backs.⁴ He encouraged all kinds of tale bearers.⁵ His great suspicions and jealousies led him to believe all sorts of stories.⁶ He pursued his revenge to the utmost against those he suspected and their friends.⁷ The rank of the accused was a matter of indifference to him. He threatened to cut the throats of the most prominent gentlemen in the colony and vowed that he would be their death or ruin.⁸ Nicholson was always more or less profane. The charge that he often cursed and swore was probably correct.⁹

The complaints of the councillors, enforced by certain representations of Blair, ultimately brought about Nicholson's recall. Thruout the conflict, four members of the council and the majority of

1- Va. Mag., III, 376.

3- Ibid, III, 377.

5- Ibid, III, 378; VII, 388.

7- Ibid, III, 379.

9- Ibid, 380.

2- Ibid, III, 377; VII, 387.

4- Ibid, III, 376; VII, 387.

6- Ibid, III, 379.

8- Ibid.

the house of burgesses supported the governor.¹ In the lower house of the assembly, it was resolved by a vote of 27 to 18² that the public peace and tranquillity of the country is in no danger by his Excellency's administration and that the far greater part of the inhabitants are very quiet and well satisfied, being in peace and great quietness, without the least desire of having his Excellency removed from being their governor.³"

The great majority of the Virginian clergy earnestly supported Nicholson. They adopted and sent to England resolutions praising him in the highest terms.⁴ Some clergymen located in other colonies did likewise.⁵ The complainants tried to account for these commendatory expressions by claiming that the clergy had been terrified and bribed by the governor.⁶ This charge the accused indignantly denied. The governor had always been their vigorous friend and supporter and it was natural for them to support him. Their representations, however, were undoubtedly biased.

During his second administration in Virginia, Nicholson accomplished some things that reflected credit upon him. His rule, however, was despotic and many of his words and actions deserved severe condemnation.

-----:-----

1- Va. Mag., VIII, 134-136, 142-143.

2- Ibid, 135.

3- Ibid, 17, 51-53, 54.

4- Ibid, 270-272, 371-373, 374.

5- Ibid, 380.

6- Ibid, 54, 270, 275.

The first object of the present study is to determine the effect of the various factors which enter into the production of the human mind. It is a study of the human mind as it is, and not as it should be. It is a study of the human mind as it is, and not as it should be. It is a study of the human mind as it is, and not as it should be.

The second object of the present study is to determine the effect of the various factors which enter into the production of the human mind. It is a study of the human mind as it is, and not as it should be. It is a study of the human mind as it is, and not as it should be. It is a study of the human mind as it is, and not as it should be.

The third object of the present study is to determine the effect of the various factors which enter into the production of the human mind. It is a study of the human mind as it is, and not as it should be. It is a study of the human mind as it is, and not as it should be. It is a study of the human mind as it is, and not as it should be.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
LIBRARY
1000 S. MICHIGAN AVE.
CHICAGO, ILL.
U.S.A.

CHAPTER VI.

NICHOLSON AND BLAIR.

The relations between Governor Nicholson and the Reverend James Blair seem to me deserving of a separate consideration. During the former's first administration in Virginia, they were on very friendly terms. We have seen how they worked together to secure the founding of William and Mary College. I have related how Blair was sent to England to secure a charter and help from the king and the successful outcome of his trip.

The instructions furnished Blair bid him procure a good schoolmaster, an usher, and a writing master.¹ Shortly after his arrival in London, he wrote to Nicholson complaining that he had not been instructed to provide a president.² He said that the Bishop of London and other bishops had convinced him that such an officer was needed. He urged that good discipline and the proper supervision of the school would thus be promoted. The remainder of the letter shows that Blair was not averse to urging his own promotion.³ His own appointment as president would, he said, save expense and trouble. He acknowledged that there were many teachers in England more learned than he, but he gave it as his opinion that any of them would find it difficult to adapt themselves to the conditions in Virginia.⁴ Nicholson approved the recommendation of his friend and Blair's appointment as president was largely due to him.⁵ Blair's promotion was further forwarded by Nicholson's recommending that he be allowed one hundred pounds per annum as commissary.⁶

----::----

1- Cal. of State Pap., Col., 1689-1692, p. 453.

2- Va. Mag., VII, 160.

3- Ibid, 161.

4- Ibid, 162.

5- Ibid, IX, 28.

6- Ibid, VII, 156; IX, 28.

During his stay in England, the commissary wrote a number of letters to Nicholson. In all of these, he spoke of him as a friend and benefactor.¹ The letters also indicate great interest in the college on the part of the governor of Virginia.²

At the close of Nicholson's first administration in "The Old Dominion", Blair spoke of him in the highest terms.³ His influence was an important factor in securing his friend's return to Virginia.⁴

After Nicholson's transfer from Maryland to Virginia, the relations between the two soon became strained and long before the governor's recall they were bitter enemies. At the outset, Blair's attempt to make some suggestions to Nicholson about the proper mode of conducting the government offended him. The commissary was also one of the persons whom Nicholson's love affair led him to suspect.⁵ The governor imagined that Archibald Blair, the brother of the commissary, was his rival. According to Blair's statement, he sent for him and when he had made his appearance, said, "Sir, your brother is a villain and you have betrayed me." Then, according to Blair, the governor raised his hands and said loudly, "Mr. Blair, take notice. I vow to the eternal God I will be revenged on you and all your family."⁷

I cannot vouch for the truth of this for the gifted commissary's veracity may often be questioned. In connection with the barring out at the college in the year 1702, he seems to stand convicted of several intentional falsehoods. It was customary for the boys to bar out the masters a few weeks before Christmas. Their object was to secure a little longer vacation. The governor always lent them pistols and powder

1-Va. Mag., VII, 159, 164.

2- Ibid, 277.

3- Cal. of State Pap., Col., 1693-1696, p. 70.

4- Va. Mag., IX, 27-28. 5- W. and M. College Quarterly, XVI, 180; Motley, Life of Blair, in J. Hopkins Univ. Studies, Series XIX, No. 10, 47. 6- Ibid, 48; Meade, Old Colony Churches, Ministers and Families in Va., I, 159.

7- Motley, Life of Blair, in J. Hopkins Univ. Studies, Series XIX, No. 10, 48.

but no shot, on such occasions and no one thought anything of it.¹
 About a fortnight before Christmas, 1702, they again attempted the
 barring out. Blair, in his affidavit, claimed that the custom had
 been abandoned some years before 1702 and that the boys were supplied
 with shot.² He hinted strongly that the governor had instigated the
 affair in order to get rid of him.³ The affidavits of the grammar mas-
 ter, the usher, the clerk, and the students show that the claims Blair
 made in regard to the abandonment of the custom and to the presence
 of the shot were false. They also prove that Nicholson did not insti-
 gate the barring out in order to deprive Blair of his life.⁴

In 1703, the commissary went to England to enter complaints
 against the governor. I have already mentioned some of the charges he
 presented to the government there. Not helping the college in its ne-
 cessity and forcing the clergy by his power and money to do what he
 wished, were among the accusations he laid to Nicholson's charge.⁵ The
 former of these was false. The latter was indignantly denied by most
 of the Virginian clergy.⁶

They informed the authorities in England that the commissa-
 ry's deposition had been branded as "false and unwarrantable by both
 the grand jury and the general assembly" and insisted that he clear him-
 self.⁷ They also severely criticized him for engaging in "an affair so
 unbecoming."⁸

June 13, 1705, while Blair was absent in England, the sur-
 viving college trustees (of whom Nicholson was the chairman) met and
 decided to apply his salary of one hundred and fifty pounds per year

- :----
- | | |
|--|----------------------------|
| 1- Va. Mag., VIII, 146; W. and M. College Quarterly, | |
| XVI, 182. | 2- Ibid, 181. |
| 3- Ibid, 182. | 4- Ibid, XVI, 183-189. Va. |
| 5- Ibid, 140, 366. | Mag., VIII, 145-146, |
| 6- Ibid, 54, 270, 274. | 262-263. |
| 7- Ibid, 275-276. | 8- Ibid, 50. |

toward hastening the work on the college¹. The president's prolonged absence in England without the consent of the trustees was given as the reason, but Nicholson's hatred of Blair probably had considerable to do with the transfer of the money.

In the end, Blair triumphed over Nicholson as he had triumphed over Andros. He seems to have known how to pull the wires.

-----::-----

1- Va. Mag., VIII, 269.

CONCLUSION

Nicholson's public services did not end in 1705. For the next fifteen years, he served against the French in Canada. In 1719, he was appointed governor of South Carolina and his conduct in that colony is deserving of high commendation. While there, "he ingratiated himself with the colonists, promoted the building of schools and churches, and succeeded in conciliating the Cherokees"¹. In June, 1725, he returned to England on leave of absence. He died in London in 1728.²

I have tried to show that in this colonial governor both the good and the bad traits were emphasized. He was often very profane. He was a man of violent passions. His temper was quick and irascible. His anger, when aroused, lasted for some time and found vent on those against whom it was directed. These he often beat with his cane, cursed, or threatened. His jealous nature caused him to be overly credulous and suspicious. He was no respecter of persons. His high temper, his jealous nature, and his high idea of his own prerogative, often won for him the ill-will of prominent men and brought him into conflict with the assemblies.

At times, however, Nicholson seems to have had remarkable control over his passions. This was especially so of his first administration in Virginia and of his term in South Carolina. In these colonies he was nearly always the courteous, obliging governor. There he was loved and respected by the vast majority of the colonists.

Nicholson seems to have had a high sense of duty to both the king and the colonists. This feeling dictated the policy he pursued in regard to colonial industries. It also determined his attitude toward the Acts of Trade and Navigation. To the enforcement of these

1- Dictionary of Nat'l. Biography, XLI, 13.

2- Ibid.

acts, he lent his greatest energy. If other governors and colonial officers had done likewise, the laws would have been enforced to the letter. His project of fortifying the western frontier was a wise one and should have been adopted by the English government.

In all the colonies with which he was connected, Nicholson showed an enlightened appreciation of the value of education. His connection with the founding of William and Mary College will never be forgotten. The stimulus which he gave to the establishment of free schools and free school systems in the colonies over which he ruled was permanent.

While in New York, Nicholson did not seem to have any very well defined religious principles. His loyalty to the Established Church became greater as he migrated from colony to colony. His religious services in Maryland caused leading English divines to think him worthy to be a bishop. He aided in establishing churches and in supporting ministers in nearly all the colonies along the Atlantic coast. Some, however, claimed that his great religious activity was caused by his desire to win the support of the clergy.

Nicholson had many weaknesses and he made many errors, but he accomplished much in America that was beneficial and lasting.

----::----

Received of the Treasurer of the County of ... the sum of ...

for the purchase of ...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

BIBLIOGRAPHY

SOURCES

ANDROS, SIR EDMUND, The Andros Tracys; Being a Collection of Pamphlets and Official Papers Issued during the Period between the Overthrow of the Andros Government and the Establishment of the Second Charter in Massachusetts. 3 vols. (Prince Society Publications vols. 5 to 7) Boston, 1864-1874.

Very useful on the period and section covered.

BARTLETT, J. R. Records of the Colony of Rhode Island and Province Plantations in New England. 10 vols. Providence. 1856-1865

A good compilation.

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND. Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, America and West Indies, Preserved in His Majesty's Public Record Office; Edited by the Public Record Office under the Direction of the Master of Rolls. 14 vols. London. 1880-1910.

Covers period from 1574-1700. The information consists of carefully prepared digests.

HENNING, WILLIAM WALLER, Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of all the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature in the Year 1619 to 1792. 13 vols. Various places. 1819-1823.

NEW YORK. Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York. 11 vols. Albany. 1856-1881.

Compiled by John Romeyn Brodhead from material collected in Holland, England and France. The work is very valuable.

NEW YORK. The Documentary History of New York, 4 vols. Albany 1849-1851.

Compiled by E.B. O'Callaghan. Contains much material dealing

The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of Justice of the Peace for the year 1875. The names are given in alphabetical order of their surnames.

John A. Smith, Esq. (Justice of the Peace for the year 1875).
The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of Justice of the Peace for the year 1875. The names are given in alphabetical order of their surnames.

John A. Smith, Esq. (Justice of the Peace for the year 1875).
The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of Justice of the Peace for the year 1875. The names are given in alphabetical order of their surnames.

John A. Smith, Esq. (Justice of the Peace for the year 1875).
The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of Justice of the Peace for the year 1875. The names are given in alphabetical order of their surnames.

John A. Smith, Esq. (Justice of the Peace for the year 1875).
The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of Justice of the Peace for the year 1875. The names are given in alphabetical order of their surnames.

John A. Smith, Esq. (Justice of the Peace for the year 1875).
The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of Justice of the Peace for the year 1875. The names are given in alphabetical order of their surnames.

with the Leisler administration.

NEW YORK. The Colonial Laws of New York from the Year 1684 to the Revolution. 5 vols. 1894.

Compiled by the commissioners of the statutory revision. Contains the charters of the Duke of York, commissions and instructions to colonial governors, etc. the Duke of York's laws, and the acts of the colonial legislatures from 1691 to 1775 inclusive.

NEW YORK. Collections of the New York Historical Society. (Publication Fund Series) 32 vols. N.Y. 1868-1900.

Published by the society. Volume one contains valuable information on the Leisler period and period just preceding it.

NEW YORK. Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York. 6 vols. Albany. 1901-1905.

Published by the State of New York.

MARYLAND. Archives of Maryland. 30 vols. Baltimore, 1883-1910.

These volumes are still coming out. They are published by the authority of the state under the direction of the Maryland Historical Society. They contain full accounts of the proceedings of the council and of the proceedings and acts of the assembly. Volume 30 covers the period 1736-1737.

RANDOLPH, EDWARD. Edward Randolph; including his Letters and Official Papers from the New England, Middle and Southern Colonies in America, with Other Documents Relating Chiefly to the Vacating of the Royal Charter of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 1676-1703. 5vols. (Prince Society Publications, vols. 24 to 28) Boston, 1898-1909.

I have found the correspondence between Nicholson and Randolph valuable.

VIRGINIA. General Assembly Calendar of State Papers and Other Manuscripts.....Dec. 1652-April 1869. 11 vols. Richmond. 1875-1893.

VIRGINIA. The Virginian Magazine of History and Biography.
vol.1 ---date. Richmond, Va. 1894 ----date.

Published by the Virginian Historical Society. Continues the collections of that society. Valuable material on the colonial history of Virginia. Chiefly source material.

SOURCE AND SECONDARY MATERIAL

WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE. William and Mary College Quarterly Magazine. First 3 vols., Williamsburg Va.; the rest, Richmond Va., vol. 1 ----date.1892 --- date.

Valuable material concerning the founding of William and Mary College and the beginnings of Williamsburg.

SECONDARY MATERIAL

ANDREWS, CHARLES McLEAN. Colonial Self-Government (American Nation Series, vol. 5) N.Y. 1904.

BRODHEAD, JOHN ROMEYN, History of the State of New York.
2 vols. N.Y. 1859-1871.

The authority for the history of New York from 1609-1691.
Shows completeness and accuracy of research.

CHALLERS, GEORGE. An Introduction to the History of the
Revolt of the American Colonies, 2 vols. Boston. 1845.

Shows the growth of the spirit of resistance in the colonies.

CHANNING, EDWARD. A History of the United States. First 2 vols.
published. N.Y. 1905-1908.

The volumes published bring the history down to 1760. Told in an interesting style. Comprehensive and accurate.

CROSS, ARTHUR LYON. The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies (Harvard Historical Studies, vol. 9) N.Y. 1902.

...the ...
...the ...
...the ...
...the ...

...the ...
...the ...
...the ...
...the ...

...the ...
...the ...
...the ...
...the ...

...the ...
...the ...
...the ...
...the ...

...the ...
...the ...
...the ...
...the ...

Accepted as a doctor's dissertation at Harvard University.

DOYLE, JOHN ANDREW. English Colonies in America. 5 vols. N.Y. 1889-1907.

Good in some respects, but badly arranged and not always accurate.

FORD, W. C. A Sketch of Sir Francis Nicholson, (in Magazine of American History, vol. 29, pp. 499-513.)

Good summary of Nicholson's career.

HOWISON, ROBERT R. A History of Virginia from its Discovery and Settlement by Europeans to the Present Time. 2 vols. 1 st. vol. Philadelphia 1846; 2d vol. Richmond, N.Y., and London- 1848.

Not a very good account.

MEADE, BISHOP. Old Churches, Ministers, and Families in Virginia. 2 vols. Philadelphia. 1906.

Based on original research.

MERENESS, NEWTON D. Maryland as a Proprietary Province. N.Y. 1901.

Topical treatment. Shows a great amount of research work. Scholarly and comprehensive.

MOTLEY, DANIEL ESTER. Life of Commissary James Blair, Founder of William and Mary College. (John Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series XIX, No.10)

Some of Blair's faults overlooked. Contains much good material.

OSGOOD, HERBERT LEVI. The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century. 3 vols. N.Y. 1904- 1907.

A very important work. Institutional and legal aspects emphasized. Treatment very scholarly.

PERRY, WILLIAM STEVENS. History of the American Episcopal

Church, 1587-1883. 2 vols. Boston. 1885.

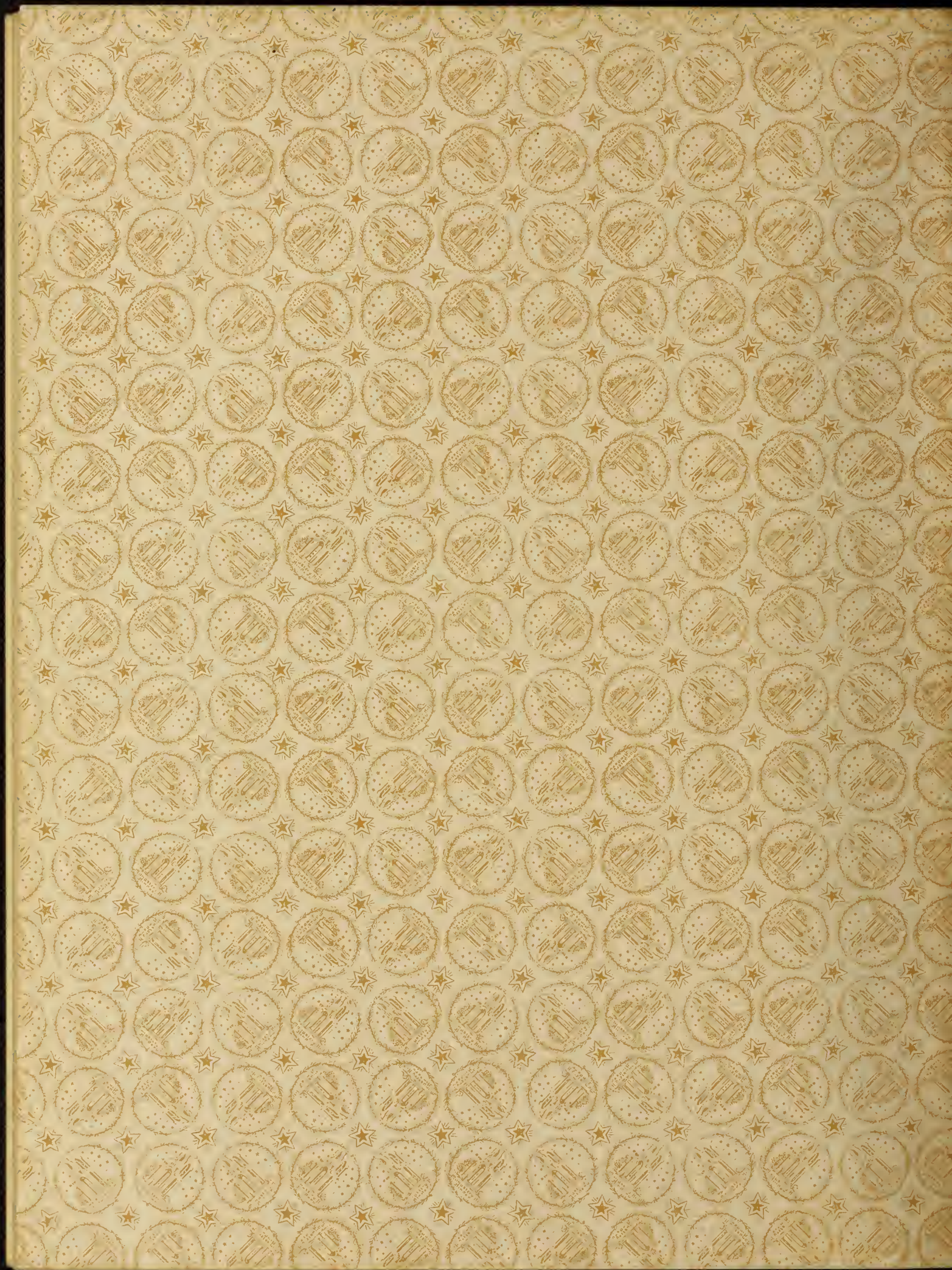
Goes into detail. Many documents inserted.

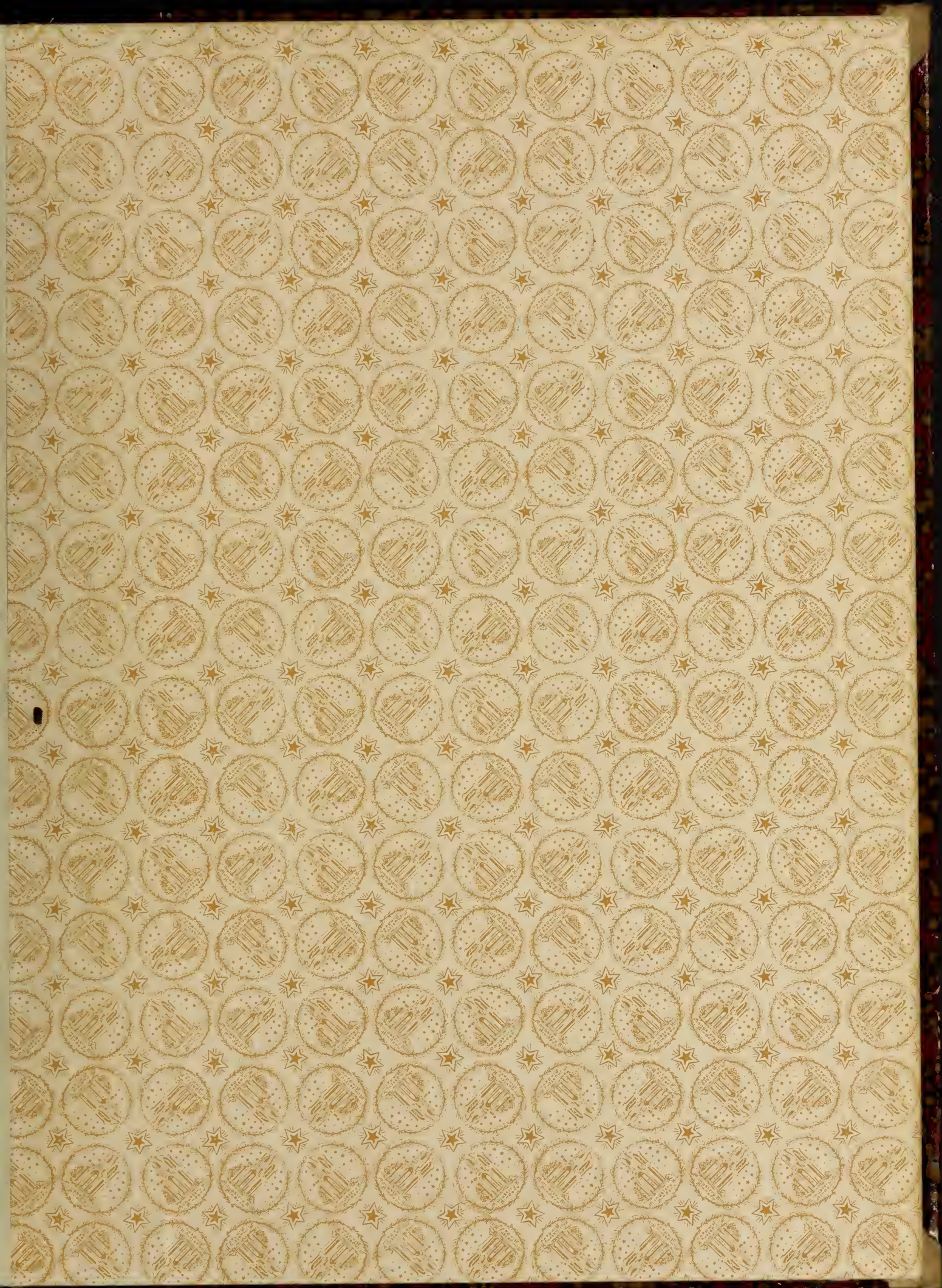
RANDALL, DANIEL R. A Puritan Colony in Maryland. (John Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series IV, No. 6,)

SHEA, JOHN DAWSON GILMARY. The Catholic Church in Colonial Days. 1521-1763. N.Y. 1886.

STEPHENS, LESLIE. Dictionary of National Biography, 63 vols. 3 supplements and an index and epitome. N.Y. and London. 1885-1903

Written by experts.





UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS-URBANA



3 0112 086858310